619, 101, 631,

SO8 Timbira SO8

/The 619 category has been used to include all material on distinct Timbira tribes other than the Ramokamekra which is the principal source for most of the author's observations./

# I. GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

## Habitat

101 The Timbira habitat extends from 3° to 9° S. latitude and from 42° to 49° W.
131 longitude—through the northeastern part of the Central Brazilian steppe area, where that area adjoins the southeastern tip of the Amazon rain forests. The tropical forest extends back of the coastal steppe strip liable to inundation, beginning at a point on the Tocantins somewhat above the Araguaya confluence, and includes the entire Gurupy basin, the middle and lower Pindaré, the lower Grajahú, and the lower Mearim. Its domain comprises the present habitat of the following Timbira tribes: the Western Gaviões; the Krẽyé of Cajuapára; the Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra of Bacabal.*

134 But by far the greatest part of Timbira territory is covered by high steppes and
137 dry forest; tall timber occurs only in the form of *galeria* forests along the brooks
133 and rivers, also at times on the slopes of the so-called mountains (*serras*), at the foot of which these watercourses usually develop from many minor springs. These inextensive wooded tracts are of great economic significance for the steppe Indian, since they offer the only soil suitable for his primitive husbandry.

The *galeria* forest further provides not only the material for housebuilding, but also the extremely important burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), the leaves of which furnish the main material for basketry while its fruits are edible and its trunks are made into logs carried in relay races. Further, there are the oleaginous babassu palm (*Orbignia speciosa*); the sororóca (*Heliconia* sp.) with its gigantic leaves, indispensable in Indian cookery; and many other useful plants.

The predominant part of the Timbira steppes consists of *campos cerrados*, that is, grass tracts with more or less dense stands of trees and bushes. Absolutely pure steppes I have seen only in the upper Pindaré country, and even these were only of minor extent. The two Timbira tribes of that region—Krîkatí and Pụkóbye—
[101] are accordingly called by the other members of their branch Popéykateye (inhabitants of true [or beautiful], pey, steppes, põ).

The prevailing grass species is Capim agreste (*Pannascum* sp.). Noteworthy among the trees are the sucupira (*Cassiea* sp.), which symbolizes for the Timbira the power of resistance; the sambahyba (*Couratella* sp.), whose rough leaves serve to polish wood; the pau de leite (*Sapium* sp.), whose latex when mixed with powdered charcoal forms the favorite pigment; the tucum palm (*Astrocaryum* sp.), important for its fibers; the almecegueira (*Protium* sp.) with an odorous rosin much used in decorative outfits; finally, the fruit-bearing piquy (*Caryocar* sp.), bacury (*Platonia* sp.), and the mangabeira (*Hancornia* sp.).

[134] The soil is mostly sandy, more rarely clayey, and still more rarely rocky. The
133 northern Timbira country is rather flat, rising only quite imperceptibly southward.
[114] Even the most recent maps (Stieler, 1928) crowd the southern half with mountain chains—to the grave disappointment of an observer on the spot, who finds simply mesas and small plateaus with steep slopes, sporadic residual phenomena, mostly

104 * In the rendering of the aboriginal terms with which the monograph bristles it seemed best to adhere to the orthography established for The Apinayé, a slight simplification of that chosen by Nimuendajú himself. A tilde over vowels indicates nasalization; a short hook below a vowel designates it as postpalatal. The latter symbol is necessary, because it defines a phonemic difference. The following values hold for symbols requiring explanation:

ə = first German e in Ehe
ö = German o in ohne
ä, ü = as in German
ŋ = half vocalic ng
š = English sh
č = Spanish ch
j = French j
x = German ch in ach
' = glottal stop

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### Classification of Timbira Tribes: Timbira and Gê-Cran

The ethnic individuality, homogeneity, and Gê affinities of the Timbira are too manifest to have been challenged by any serious observer. Opinions diverge solely as to their position within the Gê family; as to what tribes should be added to their branch of the Gê; and with respect to possible subdivisions.

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In this monograph I embrace under the caption Timbira the fifteen tribes listed below; in each case the allocation rests either on available samples of the language or on some competent investigator's statement that the speech in question is to be equated with that of a linguistically documented member of the branch. Although terminologically the classification follows the cardinal directions, the actual criterion is purely linguistic, there being a remarkably close correlation of geographical distribution with linguistic relationship. Dialectically, then, I offer the following classification:

**Eastern Timbira**

Northern group:
1. Timbira of Araparytina (Gurupy)
2. Krẽyé of Bacabal
3. Kukóekamekra of Bacabal

Southern group:
4. Krẽyé of Cajuapára
5. Krĩkatí
6. Pụkóbye
7. Western or Forest Gaviões (?)
8. Kre'pụ'mkateye
9. Krahõ'
10. Põrekamekra (?)
11. Kénkateye
12. Apạ'nyekra
13. Rạmkõ'kamekra
14. Cạ'kamekra

**Western Timbira**

15. Apinayé

In my opinion the nearest relatives of the Timbira are the several subdivisions of the Northern Kayapó; further, the Southern Kayapó and the Suyá. These four groups I should unite under the category of Northwestern Gê. I separate from them however the Gogué-Akroá, whom I class as Central Gê (a term that includes the Serénte-Savánte and the Sakriabá). The Jaicó are likewise distinct from the Timbira, but I am unable to assign these Gê to any definite branch within the stock. As for the Southern and Eastern Gê, this is not the appropriate place to discuss them, and I also purposely refrain from characterizing tribes as Gê on ethnographic grounds since the concept is primarily a linguistic one.

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Let me now scrutinize the way in which other authors have defined the Timbira.

*Critique of Ribeiro.*—The oldest chronicler of the Timbira is the previously mentioned Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. From 1800 until his assassination in 1823 he served as an officer along the Timbira frontier and, as commandant of Pastos Bons, had to go to war against these Indians four times. In his Memoria sobre as Naçõe Gentias (1819) he distinguishes two "dialects" in Maranhão—Timbira and Gamella. To the speech of the several Timbira "nations" he ascribes merely "aquella differença trivial que a distancia de umas e outras povoações de mesma raça lhes permitte." He devotes separate chapters to the following Timbira tribes: (1) Timbira of the lower Mearim (= Krẽyé and Kukóekamekra); (2) Sacamekrans (= Cạ'kamekra); (3) Capiekrans (= Rạmõ'kamekra); (4) Piócobgêz (= Pụkóbye); (5) Purecamekrans (= Põrekamekra); (6) Macamekrans (= Krahõ').

Incidentally, he further mentions the Canaquetgêz (= Karẽkateye?); Norocoagêz (= Nyurukwayé); Poncatgêz (= Põkateye); Ponecra (= Apạ'nyekra); Augutgêz (= ?); and the Apinagêz. As for the Bu, of whom he had heard in 1800, he conjectures that they either had never existed or had been exterminated by other tribes.

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This thorough observer of the primitive Timbira commits a single blunder in regarding his "Timbira of the lower Mearim" as of the same tribe as the Guajajára, instead of affiliating the latter with the Indians he had seen in the village of Vianna, whom he suspected, correctly enough, of kinship with the Tupinambá. At the opening of the nineteenth century the Guajajára of the middle Pindaré had probably been cut off from all contact with civilization by the warlike Gamella of Vianna and the Timbira of the lower Mearim, Grajahú, and Pindaré, so that they were known only by name. For in 1820 Pereira do Lago, too, confuses them with the Timbira in question; and Martius' statements concerning this Tupí people are extraordinarily contradictory. Now he treats them as descendants of the Tobajara, then he equates them with the Buco-Bûs, that is, Pąkóbye; and finally they turn into a horde of Mundurucú.[34]

*Critique of Martius.*—Unfortunately Martius' personal contacts with Timbira were limited to a brief meeting with a troop of some twenty Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra who were visiting the town of Caxias in 1819. In his masterly fashion he describes the impressive appearance and behavior of these Indians, establishing the complete similarity of both tribes as to looks, manners and speech. All his other statements about the Timbira, as well as other Maranhão tribes, were derived from personal communications by Ribeiro and by Luiz de Oliveira Figueiredo, who had for seven years served as judge in Caxias.[35]

Subsequently Martius for the first time determined the linguistic and cultural affinity of the Timbira with a considerable number of other tribes in Goyaz and the adjoining districts of Maranhão, Bahia, Piauhy, and Pará. All these he grouped together as Gêz, recognizing a Southern branch, viz. the [Southern] Cayapós, Chavantes, Cherentes, and Chieriabás; and a Northern branch, viz. Gêz proper, Crans, and Acroás. As members of the stock he further included the Masacará, Aracujá, Pontás, Geicós, and Gogués.[36]

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The dichotomy rests on the ending of the tribal names, either -gêz (=ye) or -crans (=kra). In contrast to Ribeiro, Martius defines only the latter as Timbira. He further considers it likely that the Crans were the "sons"—a recent offshoot—of the "paternal" Gêz proper. For, he argues, the Crans occupy the northernmost tracts (which is the precise reverse of the contention in his other work),[37] while the Gê stock as a whole had undoubtedly moved from the south northward. He further tried to derive certain Cran "clan" names from Gêz equivalents.

It seems worth while to examine these conjectures, for which purpose we may first of all determine the meaning attached to the terms Timbira, Cran, and Gêz.

According to Martius, the term Timbira is referred by some to the custom of wearing tight armlets and footbands of bast (=embira, imbira), but he himself is inclined rather to derive the word from tembetá, tembetara, the Tupí term for a lip plug. Apart from the phonetic impossibility of deriving the term Timbira from tembetara, only a small section of the Timbira branch perforated the lower lip. Ribeiro had already separated the Gamella, who were conspicuously labret wearers, from the Timbira, with whom Martius, to be sure, erroneously classes them. On the other hand, the earplug is indeed a tribal badge of the Timbira, but (contrary to Martius' apparent assumption) the word for labret cannot be extended to these ornaments, for it is derived from tembé, lower lip. Nor will imbira, the designation

[34] Martius, Beiträge, 1:193, 286, 394.
[35] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:818–825.
[36] Martius, Beiträge, 1:257 f.
[37] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:823.

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for bast in the northern lingua geral, serve the purpose since it leaves the initial T unaccounted for.

I, too, assume a reference to the bands these people wear—not only on their arms and feet, but also below the knee, on the wrists, around the neck, the chest, and the forehead. However, the name is not derived from imbira, bast, but is a compound of tĩ, to bind, and pį́'ra, passive, with the initial "p" of the second element transmuted into "mb" because of the preceding nasal vowel. Thus, the term Timbira would correspond to "the bound ones,"—but only on the assumption that the tribal name is of Tupí origin, which cannot be treated as a priori certain.

Cran or rather kra does mean "son," but also "tribe" or "people." For example: ampó kra ma ka, Of what tribe are you? i pe Apą́'nyekra, I am of the Piranha tribe. However, in the formation of tribal names this kra is commonly preceded by the particle kame, of which me- precedes only nouns referring to human beings, while I am not very clear as to the manifold uses of ka.

Gêz is the rather infelicitous Portuguese rendering of the suffix ye (Apinayé ya) in Timbira speech. It terminates only designations of kinship, social functions, and tribal names of the Timbira. In the two latter instances it is generally, though not invariably, preceded by kate. This suffix designates the person owning the thing expressed by the noun. Frequently the meaning becomes locative.

In other words, whether a tribal name ends in -kra or -ye depends solely on the meaning of the substantive used. The -ye tribes cannot be separated from the -kra tribes, nor can either group be legitimately made to descend from the other. Ribeiro remained quite free from this error. Actually, the Timbira of Cajuapára are called indiscriminately Pihą́'kamekra or Krẽyé; while the Krahõ' are subdivided into the Mąkamekra (mą, ostrich; ostrich people) and Kenpókateye (kenpo, flat rock; people of the flat rock).

Martius is equally in error in deriving certain kra names from ye equivalents. The names Piocabgêz and Piocamecrans are unrelated: the former is derived from pųkób, yam (*Dioscorea* sp.), the latter from pihą', weaverbird (*Cassicus* sp.). Similarly, the term Poncatagêz is traceable to põ (steppe), Ponicrans to apę́'n (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]). The illegitimacy of Martius' criteria for assuming a Bûs subdivision has been set forth elsewhere.[2]

Finally, the settlers' division of the branch into Timbira da Matta, Timbira de Canella fina, and Timbira de Bocca furada obviously cannot be taken seriously for ethnological purposes. Martius himself, in volume 1 of his Beiträge, puts the Aponegicrans (= Apą́'nyekra) into the first of these groups, while in his second volume they figure as Timbira de Canella fina. Of the contemporary Gaviões, one group lives in the Amazon forests, the other on the steppe.

The discovery of the Gê stock in a wider sense is exclusively Martius' merit since he owed nothing to any predecessor. But his subdivision into Gêz proper, Crans, and Bûs rests on unacceptable principles.

*Critique of Von den Steinen and Ehrenreich.*—In 1886 Karl von den Steinen studied Gê languages, which he grouped together with the Botocudo and Goytacá to form the Tapuya family. In this examination he considered only tribes for which linguistic material was then available. His subgroup of Western and Northern Gê embraces the Suyá, Apinayé, Apą́'nyekra, the [Southern] Kayapó, and the Krahõ'. He further adds the Karayá, an allocation unconfirmed by any of his successors. His Central Gê comprise the Šavánte, Šerénte, Šakriaba, and Akroá; he does not so much as mention the Jaicó. Except for the allocation of the Karayá, Von den Stei-

[2] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 5 f.

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nen's grouping of the two western subdivisions of the Gê stock forms an excellent basis for further elaboration."

Ehrenreich, who subsequently himself collected better material from the Karayá, excluded them from the Gê stock and provided the following scheme for the Western group."

Akroá
  Akroá
  Jeiko
  Gogues
Kayapó or Bu
  Southern Kayapó
  Northern Kayapó
    Uišikrin
    Kradaho
    Gaviões or Karakati
Northern Kayapó (continued)
    Apinayé
    Karaho
    Timbira or Gamella
Western Kayapó
    Suya
Akuã
    Chavantes
    Cherentes
    Chicriaba

Here I must make the comment that the Akroá (except for the Jaicó) are linguistically much closer to the Akwẽ than to the Kayapó. Specifically, Bu as a tribal name and synonym for Kayapó (Ehrenreich once refers to the Kayabus) is inadmissible, while Timbira and Gamella represent two (or three) distinct peoples. Apart from this, my own Northwestern Gê group is merely an amplification of Ehrenreich's Kayapó.

*Critique of Rivet.*—In 1925 Rivet published a new classification of the Gê." With reference to the Northwestern and Central branches, his scheme is as follows:

1e septentrionaux:
(1) Timbira de forêt
    Timbira du haut Gurupy
      Gamella
    Sakamekran
    Piokobje
    Augutie
    Kranie
    Paikoie
(2) Timbira de savanne
    Temembu (Bukobu, Manaié, Aponegikran)
    Kapiekran
    Makamekran (Karaõu, Kraõ)
    Tamembo
    Karahé (Karaké)
    Kannakaie (Kannakatie)
    Purekamekran
    Penkatie
    Norokoaie

1e centraux:
(1) Kayapó
    Kayapó
    Mãkubenkokré
    Gradahó
    Kurupite (Purukaru)
    Gorotiré
    Karaho
    Uišikring
    Suyá
    Apinaie
    Gaviões (Krikataie, Karakati)
(2) šavánte Opaié (Arao)
    šeránte
    šikriabá
    žeikó
    Akroá
    Gogue

As against Von den Steinen's and Ehrenreich's groupings, which rested only on reliable material, this later classification marks an unmistakable retrogression. The author has not merely included a large number of tribes for which historical documentation is hardly extant and linguistic evidence wholly wanting, but—strangely enough, in a linguistic classification—he has segregated his Timbira according to phyto-geographical principles. In coping with the chaos of synonyms Rivet has tried to simplify in a single case, infelicitously identifying the Temembu (prob-

" Von den Steinen, Durch Central-Brasilien, 315 f.
" Ehrenreich, Die Einteilung.
" Les langues du monde.

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ably to be equated with the Krahõ') with the Bucobu, Aponegikran, and Manažó. A little farther on he cites these Temembu again as Tamembó; the Bucubu have appeared twice before as Piokobzé and Paikosé; and the Manazó, a Tupí tribe, figure twice previously as Manažé and Amanajó. The Krahõ', too, appear three times, twice among the Northern and once among the Central Gê. Rivet has, indeed, dropped the division into Gês, Crans, and Bus; but by way of compensation he separates the Apinayé, Krĩkatí, and Krahõ' from the other Timbira and places them with the Kayapó among the Central Gê. For his Šavánte Opaié, who are not a Gê people at all, one must substitute Šavánte-Akwẽ.

*Critique of W. Schmidt and Snethlage.*—In 1926 Wilhelm Schmidt restored order by uniting the Kayapó and Akuã languages as Northern and Western Gê groups.[28] Under the head of Cayapó-Sprachen he lists Suyá, Cayapó, Carahó, Apinagés, Aponegicran, Capiecran, Timbira, Canela, and Crengez; as Akuã-Sprachen, he lists Chavante, Cherente, Chacriabá, Geico, and Acroá-Mirim. Here the only doubtful allocation is at most that of the Geicó.

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The last treatise on the Timbirá is Snethlage's.[29] First among Martius' successors she reverts to the designation Cran (Krãn), making it comprise the Timbira-Gaviões, Kanella, Kraõ, Apinayé, Kayapó, and Suyá. The segregation of the Krãn from among the great conglomerate of Gê peoples (*Das Herausheben der Krãn aus dem grossen Konglomerat der Gê [Ze]völker*) is in his opinion the outstanding result of his researches. That this subdivision already appears in Ehrenreich's and Schmidt's schemes, seems to have eluded him.

Partly because of his reliance on Rivet, the section on History and Statistics[30] surveying the several tribes contains a series of minor inaccuracies. I venture to correct these in the order of their occurrence.

1. I am unable to discover any source suggesting that the [Southern] Kayapó who had been overcome with Bororó assistance were split into two sections that were pushed northward and southward, respectively. Actually the Southern Kayapó escaped toward the southwest; the Northern Kayapó, as Ehrenreich already stressed and as a glance at the word lists demonstrates, by no means represent the same tribe, but are clearly distinct, even though closely related.

2. "Möglichkeit besteht, dass einige Stämme, die Kaingang und Cherente Akwé ... auf diese oder ähnliche Weise (!Abdrängung durch die Conquista!) nach Süden gekommen sind." This sentence is not clear to me. So far as I know, the Šerénte never got away from their ancient habitat; and their traditions point toward the southeast. The Kaingang, too, rather seem to have pushed northward.

3. As for the Krahõ' tribe assigned by Sampaio to the northwest corner of the state of Bahia, it never existed. His informant, whom I knew personally, was a true Apinayé, who deliberately deceived Sampaio and others. I shall revert to this case.

The names Pepuxi, Puxiti, Petuxi, and Capepuxi (Kupẽpųčẽ') are evidently more or less corrupted forms of Pųčẽti, the Timbira word for the Akwẽ, hence without reference to the Krahõ', one of whose subdivisions is represented by the Mąkamekra. Purekamekran (Põrekamekra) and Noroquagé (Nyurukwayé) were tribes distinct from the Krahõ', and originally not even their neighbors. Afotigé and Otogé are synonyms for the Apinayé. It is unintelligible why part of the Krahõ' should be regarded as "possibly identical with the Caracati"; the two tribes

[28] Schmidt, Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachkreise der Erde, 238.
[29] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind.
[30] *Ibid.*, 139–142.

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have been geographically and historically distinct from time immemorial and speak somewhat different dialects.

4. The author, following Rivet, incorrectly identifies the Aponegikrãn with the Temembó and Manajó. Capiecran, Corumecran, and Rąmkõ'kamekra all designate a single tribe, viz. the Canella of Ponto. The Sakamekrãn are neither identical with the Gamella of Codó nor do they come under the category of Canella. On the other hand, Acobu (Hakąpó) is the Timbira word for the Gamella. Of course, Apónyekrãn (or rather Apą'nyekra) and Aponegicran are merely different renderings of the same word.

5. The Tremembé could not possibly be identical with the Mujaraguano because, for one thing, Heriarte's description of the latter does not refer to any tribe of Maranhão. The Tremembé did not practice endocannibalism, but buried their dead in the sand of the ocean beach."

6. It is incorrect to speak of the Temembó driving the Cannacatgé and Poncatgé out of the Rio Farinha district, especially if one identifies the aggressors with the Aponegicram, as the author does. According to Ribeiro, the Cannacatgé, who lived on the Farinha, were exterminated by São Pedro de Alcantara's bandeira in 1814; it is true that the Krahõ' (= Temembó) acted as allies of the expeditionary force."

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7. The free Gaviões neither live on the Gurupy nor are they identical with the Krẽyé of that area or the Timbira of Araparytíua (whom I at one time erroneously designated as Mehí); still less can they be equated with the Urubú, a Tupí tribe. Their settlements, so far as we can at present surmise, lie near the headwaters of two rivulets which empty into the Tocantins somewhat above and below Mãe Maria, halfway between the Araguaya and the Tacayunas confluence. Although Snethlage is unquestionably right in considering the steppes the true home of the Timbira, it is an indubitable fact that a fair number of contemporary tribes of this branch inhabit the true rain forests. On the other hand, the "tame" Gaviões live in what are perhaps the purest steppe tracts of the entire region.

8. Near the sources of the Alpercatas and on the Rio Balsas there are no Indians nowadays. The former marked the habitat of the Kénkateye Canella before their extermination in 1913.

9. The statements Snethlage obtained from an old Apinayé about supposed relations of his tribe with the wild Gaviões are incorrect. The Apinayé are afraid of the tame Gaviões, let alone their wild brethren, who are shunned even by their peaceable congeners on the upper Pindaré. Snethlage's informant estimated the Krãnye population at 1000. Yet in 1914 I found the tribe to number about 100; the census of the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios in 1919 sets the number at 65; and I have never known an Apinayé able to count with any assurance beyond twenty.

Omitting the distinction of Gê, Crans, and Bus because he evidently realized its inadequacy, Snethlage nevertheless retained the phrases Timbira da Matta and Timbira do Campo—notwithstanding his conclusion that basically all Timbira are steppe dwellers. How he got the designation Krãn, and especially why he invariably applies this nasalized form for the tribal names, I cannot comprehend. In his own word lists the unnasalized kra figures about half a dozen times with the meaning of "child," "son," "boy," "family." I am under the impression that he never heard the native terms for the tribes from the lips of the Indians, but adopted the forms I had used in a provisional communication to Father Koppers." For example, he

[30] Betendorf, Chronica, 319.
[31] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83.
[32] Nimuendajú, Im Gebiet der Gê Völker.

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writes "Krânye" instead of "Krẽyé," though the name has nothing to do with kra (head) or kra (tribe), but is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot), a word Snethlage himself records in his lists as "krenrã" and "krenãrã." He has not corrected the errors of my earlier orthography.

### Tribal Names in Timbira Speech

The Timbira know that they are the several tribes of a major ethnic unit, which they define above all—apart from the greater or lesser linguistic homogeneity—by the presence of the hair furrow, earplugs, circular form of settlement, and log racing. Whenever I told them about some strange people they invariably questioned me as to the occurrence of these traits in order to determine whether I was speaking of congeners or aliens.

All non-Timbira were presumably once put into the category of kupẽ, a term now restricted to Neobrazilians, but formerly extended to Indians also, as appears from its application to the legendary foreign tribes of old.

So far as they are acquainted with one another, all the fifteen tribes listed above treat one another as members of one people, while this does not hold for their attitude toward the Guajajára, Tembé, Urubú, Gamella tribes, Karayá, and Akwẽ. When asked for a term to cover the totality of their own ethnic unit, the Indians are perplexed and finally either fail to answer or furnish one of the following three appellations: mehĩ (mehe, mehẽ); tayé (tayẽ', tãyĩ'); and mekra.

Of these, the first is more frequent, Fróes Abreu considering mehim and Pompeu Sobrinho mehime as the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra designation for themselves, while I conceived mehĩ as that of the Timbira of Araparytíua.[28] The term further figures in my lists as follows:

Krẽyé: mẽhĩ', body.
Pąkôbye: mehẽ, people.
Kre'pų'mkateye: mehe, people.
Apą'nyekra: mehĩ', Indians.
Rąmkõ'kamekra: mehĩ', people, Indians.[29]
Apinayé: pa'hi, people, Indians.

At all events the term is of quite generic significance, not restricted to the Timbira, let alone to a specific tribe of the branch, as I at first had assumed. According to my present knowledge, I incline to interpret the word as approximately signifying "person."

I committed a corresponding error in interpreting tayẽ' as the Bacabal Krẽyé word for this tribe itself,[30] though my list registers: tãyẽ', Indian; tãyĩ, people. Among the Kre'pų'mkateye and Rąmkõ'kamekra I have recorded tayí, tayẽ' for "people." Pompeu Sobrinho[31] assumes itáiê as the pronoun of the second person plural. I would at present render it as possibly equivalent to "comrade," perhaps actually as "fellow member of my people." It seems to be used mainly as a vocative.

Mekra, as already explained, signifies "people, tribe"; at least in the formation of tribal names it is applied only to Timbira groups.

All these designations occur solely among the Eastern Timbira. The Apinayé, who are thoroughly imbued with the sense of kinship with the remainder of the branch, gave me for the Timbira people in its totality the word mãkraya, which

[28] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 101. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 81. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras.
[29] Snethlage has: mamhim, people; panjin, Indians.
[30] Vokabular und Sagen, 630.
[31] *Op. cit.*, 24.

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they otherwise use for the Krîkatí. The extension is explained by the Apinayé tradition which conceives all other Timbira tribes as offshoots of the Krîkatí.[a] Literally, the term signifies "ostrich tribe."

A genuine name distinctive of their ethnic unit in its totality is thus lacking among all these tribes, for which reason I have retained the term Timbira.

The neighboring Tanetehára (Tembé-Guajajára) of Tupí stock designate the Timbira as ąwįwa. Frões Abreu spells it "Awá," but I do not consider the word identical with Guaraní awá (man, Indian), but rather incline to see a connection with awí (different), with the secondary meaning of "false, incorrect."

The preceding chapter has demonstrated the ineffable confusion and uncertainty in the use of tribal names by various authors. As indicated, the same tribe under three synonyms occasionally figures as three separate tribes, even in the same publication. Hence it is worth while bringing order into this chaos by a closer study of the history of each tribe by itself.

## Historical Survey of the Several Timbira Tribes

### *1. The Timbira of Araparytíua*

The Timbira living on the middle Gurupy at about 3° S. latitude immigrated into that region from the Pindaré not earlier than the second half of the last century. Initially they seem to have formed part of Ribeiro's "Timbira do Baixo Mearim,"[b] to whom he assigns as their true habitat in 1819 the region west of the Pindaré.[c] But they had evidently not been living there very long, for the Jesuits who resided along this river in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make no mention of them, referring only to the Guajajára and Amanayé.

In 1820 Pereira do Lago knows of some Timbira a short distance west of Monção, along Lakes Acará, Acaryuassú, and Jacaréuassú; at that time they were only to a slight degree hostile.[d] But as late as 1855 we learn of the order to found an aldeamento in Capivary because of the frequent attacks of the Timbira on the farmers of the Vianna municipio. The tradition of the descendants of Gamella now resident there actually confirms the presence of Timbira among the Indians of Capivary at approximately that period.[e] Possibly there is some connection between this attempt to settle the Timbira among the Gamella and the migration toward the Gurupy.

In 1862 Governor Araujo Brusque reports two Timbira bands on the Gurupy as having emigrated many years ago from Maranhão. Numbering 100 to 150, they were said to dwell on the Pitinga, a western tributary of the Uruahim, and at Anajatiua; to roam about without fixed habitations; and to have previously been in constant warfare with the Tembé.

On the Gurupy the Timbira, as well as other tribes, came under the official superintendence of that notorious exploiter of Indians, Polycarpo José Tavares, of whom it is still said that Heaven paralyzed both his hands in punishment for his misdeeds. Rebelling against their tormentor at the beginning of the 'eighties, the Timbira returned to the Pindaré under the leadership of their chief Marayú. After his death they reappeared on the Gurupy in 1889, at first living at Pedro de Amolar, where they were afflicted with the measles, whereupon they moved very close to the Tembé village of Praia Grande, attaching themselves to the Neobrazilian family Ayres Pereira. When this family moved downstream to Bôa Vista, part of the Timbira

[a] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.
[b] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 25.
[c] Itinerario, 113, 114.
[d] Nimuendajú, The Gamella Indians, 11.

1: Nimuendajú E-6 (1939-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS



accompanied them, founding near by the aldea of Peleguim under the chief Francisco. Others remained near Praia Grande under the leadership of a fugitive from justice named Marciano.

In 1900 these Timbira were reinforced by some twenty new migrants from the Pindaré. In that area chief Karinẽ"s band, which lived along the Riacho Gallego, had been exterminated by the Guajajára, who were aided by a rubber-gathering expedition. The survivors, led by chief Manoel Pixuna, fled to their tribesmen on the Gurupy.

In 1903 the Urubú attacked and killed several members of an encampment of these Timbira on a western affluent of the Gurupy-una, where they were gathering capahi oil. In 1906 the aldea of Peleguim reunited with that of Praia Grande. A new epidemic of measles claimed its victims, among them the "chief" Marciano, whereupon the survivors once more joined the Ayres Pereira family, which after being ousted from Bôa Vista by the Urubú had resettled upstream at the mouth of the Araparytíua.

During a six months' stay on the upper Gurupy in 1914 and 1915 I encountered this group several times. They were by then reduced to a population of 41, but in contrast to the Tembé had remained comparatively pure. They were peaceable, trusting, and loyal. Most of the men, but only a few of the women, spoke some Portuguese; however, in consequence of their proximity to the Tembé of Praia Grande, nearly all spoke likewise the Tupí dialect of that tribe. Among themselves they conversed exclusively in their rough, guttural Timbira tongue; the chief, Pedro Čumeré, dictated to me a list of sixty-two words, for the most part reproduced in my Vokabular der Timbiras von Maranhão und Pará.

Even in their own settlement—a bare hundred paces from the Ayres Pereira household—they wore more or less clothing and had abandoned the ancient mode of dressing the hair. Only the older men still had extended ears, but removal of eyebrows and lashes was still a general practice. Bows and arrows were used only to shoot fish, having been superseded by firearms in the chase.

A year before my arrival they had celebrated an old-style festival, with racing logs and masks. Of these I was able to view the remains: cylindrical headdresses with two long horns and a feather mosaic; their term ku' uxį'd corresponds to the Rąmkõ'kamekra kõkrį't.[m] It had been the very last festival of the kind, for the only elder capable of conducting it had died since the performance.

At the time of my visit the Timbira had unfortunately given up farming, to which they had begun to devote themselves, in order to gather capahi oil, hire themselves out as river boatmen, or otherwise enter the service of the rubber gatherers, a mode of life bound to lead to economic and social ruin. Nevertheless they maintained their population for some years to come, for the census of 1919 sets their number at 43. Today, after their transfer by the Serviço to the Tembé station (Felippe Camarão), at the mouth of the Jararaca, there are said to be only a few survivors.

I could not ascertain a tribal name for these Timbira, possibly because the bands that emigrated from the Pindaré at different times belonged to different tribes which united only on the Gurupy. In their earlier home on the Pindaré there are no longer any Timbira.

### *2–3. The Krẽyé of Bacabal; the Kukóekamekra*

These two tribes, together with the extinct Pobzé, probably correspond to Ribeiro's "Timbiras do Baixo Mearim,"[n]—people, he declares, who are called "Guajojaras."

[m] It designates a water monster and the society named after it.

[n] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 57; Roteiro, 26.

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In 1818–19 they were roving between the lower Mearim and the Grajahú, remained wholly inaccessible, and by their incursions greatly damaged the property of settlers as far as Cantanhede, down the Itapicurú. Southward they roamed almost to the vicinity of the present Barra do Corda in order to visit the great arrow-reed stands at the Caxoeira da Canna braba of the Mearim, where they occasionally had hostile encounters with the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Čą'kamekra.

Since 1850, but especially since 1853,[28] the Krẽyé and Pobzé began to present themselves peaceably in considerable numbers before the settlers at Bacabal on the Mearim, so that the government had the colony Leopoldina established for them. Allegedly in that year it held 500 men fit to bear arms, an obvious exaggeration, for the total Indian population to be settled in the two colonies of Carú (Guajajára) and Leopoldina was estimated at only 2000. As early as 1855 a fever epidemic afflicted the colony, carrying off many and driving others to flee back to the woods. In Marques' time, which so far as his records go does not extend later than 1862, a count in Leopoldina still yielded 336 Indians: 158 "Timbira" (= Kukóekamekra); 87 Cremzés (= Krẽyé); and 91 Pobzé. This is the last mention I can find of the Pobzé.

In 1913 I met one of these Krẽyé in São Luiz and secured from him a word list and several traditional stories. The census of 1919 mentions two settlements: Cajueiro with 43 Crangés (= Krẽyé); and Santo Antonio with 30 Timbira (= Kukóekamekra). They are still situated in close proximity to each other in the forest region west of Bacabal between the Mearim and Grajahú, nearer to the latter. The Pobzé seem to be wholly extinct.

The word Krẽyé is derived from krẽre (dwarf parrot); while Kukóekamekra is traceable to kukóe (monkey [*Cebus* sp.]). The speech of the two minute tribal remnants is said to present no differences.

### *4. The Krẽyé of Cajuapára*

The Krẽyé of Cajuapára, nowadays simply known as Timbira among Neobrazilians, are not by any means a band of seceders from the Bacabal tribe of that name, but a quite distinct Timbira tribe that merely happens to share the same designation. This separateness extends even to speech: while the Bacabal dialect greatly resembles that of the Timbira of Araparytíua, the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and linguistically closest to the Kre' pų'mkateye and Pųkóbye. The Cajuapára call themselves Krẽyé, but are known to neighboring tribes as Pihą'kamekra (pihą', weaverbird [*Cassicus* sp.]), which Neobrazilians have transmuted into Piocamecrans, Pivócamecras, and Pivocas.[29] The Amaneyé, of the Tupí linguistic stock, also speak of them as Pihó.

Their earlier habitat was on the Embira Branca, a sizable brook that empties into the Tocantins a little below Imperatriz.

In 1848 the Carmelite Brother Manoel Procopio took over the missionary work in the military colony of Santa Thereza (now Imperatriz), which had been recently founded by the authorities of Pará. At that time there were two Gragé Indian aldeas near by, one a quarter of a mile from the post and the other a mile beyond the woods, with a joint population of over 200.[30]

In 1851 the missionary moved to São João do Araguaya, but since his efforts

[28] Marques, Apontamentos, "Colonisação." Sotero dos Reis, Machado, 619.

[29] Casal, Chorographia, 1:293. Marques, Apontamentos, "Carolina." Moura, De Belém a S. João, 281. This last author erroneously locates the tribe on the Rio do Somno.

[30] Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Theresa."

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among the Apinayé proved a failure, he soon returned, subsequently conducting the Santa Thereza mission for a number of years.[a]

In 1859 Ferreira Gomes[b] visited a settlement of the Krẽyé, whom he oddly designated as "Carajás." It was situated near Imperatriz and had from 50 to 60 inhabitants, who were ill nourished and very poorly off.

A tribal list of 1861 by Marques registers wild and tame Pivócas in the company of Coroados (?) at the Pindaré headwaters; wild, as well as some tame, Pivócas-mecras in villages near the Tocantins; and wild and tame Gregês between the Rio Capim and Santa Thereza. It is true that his list is not very trustworthy, for among other blunders it cites the Amanayé under three distinct names as so many separate tribes; and the distinction between Pivóca and Pivócasmecras is nonsensical. Nevertheless his records seem to indicate that part of the tribe had already retired from the Tocantins back into the interior, though hardly to the Pindaré headwaters, the frontier from time immemorial of their enemies, the Krîkatí. More probably they proceeded to the district where they were still met in later years, viz. that of the Rio Gurupy headwaters.

At the time of Dodt's survey of the Rio Gurupy in 1872 the "Carajés" were dwelling by the eastern fork of the Cajuapára headwaters in a village of 400–500 inhabitants. For their emigration from the Tocantins region they gave the following explanation: During the men's absence from the village on one occasion several sertão dwellers attacked it, abducting a number of Indian children. Then the Indians burnt down a neighboring fazenda, killing seven of the people there, and from fear of Neobrazilian revenge fled into the woods of the Gurupy region.[c]

During my stay on the Gurupy (1914–15) the Krẽyé were still living there. Their village, named Bacaba, had about 100 inhabitants in tolerable circumstances, being in a better state of preservation than the Timbira of Araparytíua. With the aid of their chief, who bore the Tembé name Arapuhá, I took down a small word list. The census of 1919 still credits the tribe with 65 souls. Not long after this the Serviço de Protecção aos Indios transferred it to Felippe Camarão at the mouth of the Jararaca, where there are at present only a few survivors.

### 5. *The Krîkatí*

Krîkatí means "big village"; it is the name by which the tribe is known not only among fellow Timbira, but even among the Northern Kayapó.[d] The Neobrazilians have transmogrified it into the name Caracaty, while the tribe generally calls itself Krîkateyẽ (those of the village). Both appellations refer to the ancient tradition of a single large village once jointly inhabited by all the Timbira. The killing of a tame ostrich is supposed to have precipitated a bloody feud, whereupon the majority departed in separate groups, betaking themselves in different directions and forming new tribes. Only the present Krîkateyẽ remained in the old settlement. It is with reference to this tradition that the Apinayé call this people Mãkraya (ostrich tribe), while it figures among the Kre'pų'mkateye, Rąmkõ'kamekra, and Apą'nyekra as Pẽnykõkateye (those of the mangaba water [pẽny, mangaba, i.e., *Hancornia* sp.; kõ, water]). The Neobrazilians have frequently confused the tribe with the Pųkóbye, dubbing both of them Gaviões (falcons).

Since their first appearance, which to be sure does not date back a century, until their extinction as an independent people in 1930, the Krîkatí had never left their ancient habitat east of the Tocantins, where this river gradually changes its south-

[a] See Aguiar, etc.
[b] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 194–195.
[c] Dodt, Descripção, 121.
[d] Nimuendajú, Idiomas Indígenas, 561.

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north course into an east-west direction, that is, east of Imperatriz, in the interior. There they were already dwelling in 1844, when Castelnau noted them as dangerous. He was told that the Gaviões imperiled travel on the right bank of the Tocantins from São João do Araguaya to Bôa Vista, and the Caracati from this point on upstream.[a] This probably allots too extensive a range to the Gaviões.

After the establishment of the military colony of Santa Thereza in 1848 the tribe seems to have had brief intercourse with the missionary stationed there, Brother Manoel Procopio.[b] The report for 1849 designates these Indians as "ponco familiarizados" (little accustomed to intercourse); and in 1852 Brother Procopio is credited with a vain attempt to make the Caracatigés and Gavioës settle down at Campo do Frade, north of Imperatriz. Toward the end of 1853 there are said to have come down to Santa Thereza 300 Indians, and in 1854 the number of Caracatis there is given as 302.[c] But in the following year the mission was already in complete decadence,[d] in consequence whereof it disappears from later official reports. In the subsequent years we hear at most about Gaviões, a term that may have embraced Pụkóbye *and* Krîkatí.

Strangely enough, Ehrenreich regards the Gaviões *or* Carakati as directly affiliated with the Northern Kayapó and seems to assume erroneously that they lived mainly to the west of the Tocantins, for he declares that they occasionally crossed the Tocantins below the Tacayunas confluence over to the right (east) bank. On his map the Gaviões *or* Carakati are placed on both sides of the Tocantins.[e]

The census of 1919 lists two Caracaty villages, Engenho Velho with 69 and Canto da Aldea with 204 inhabitants. A third settlement that was still in existence then, at Caldeirão, is not mentioned or possibly is included under Canto da Aldea. But when I visited the tribe in the following year, I found only a remnant of 80 souls at Canto da Aldea, at the extreme source of the Pindaré. Here these Indians were living impoverished and in a very sad plight from the pressure of near-by fazendeiros, who had usurped the whole tribal domain, leaving to the aborigines the choice between abandonment of their last settlement and being massacred. Even in the previous year, owing to a conflict with the wealthiest and greediest fazendeiro, one Salomão Barros, the villagers of the two other aldeas had scattered and retreated to the Pụkóbye. Only the arrival from Barra do Corda of the Indian agent, Marcellino Miranda, had prevented the general massacre plotted by the fazendeiros. At that time he had vainly tried to transfer the Krîkatí from Canto da Aldea to some secure place of refuge, but they obstinately insisted on their rights, demanding the exodus of the fazendeiros if these objected to the proximity of the Indians.

In 1930 the situation came to a head. Pressed by the fazendeiros, the president of Maranhão, Magalhães de Almeida, informed the agent that unless they consented to depart he would have the Krîkatí forcibly removed by the constabulary. Once more the agent tried to transfer them to the Rio Ourives near Barra do Corda, but this merely led to a breaking up of this last independent remnant of the tribe. Having vainly begged the Apinayé and the Apạ'nyekra to harbor them, the Krîkatí scattered in all directions. I do not know where the survivors may be hidden nowadays, but probably they have ceased to exist as a distinct tribe.

The Krîkatí dialect completely coincides with that of the Pụkóbye.

[a] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:11, 17, 18.
[b] J. F. Coelho, Falla, 76. Aguiar, Relatorio, 53. J. J. Cunha, Falla, 1852, 82.
[c] Rego Barros, Falla, Annexo, 56.
[d] Frias Vasconcellos, 59.
[e] Ehrenreich, Beiträge, 149; *idem.*, Die Einteilung und Verbreitung.

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[98] 619 ●101 131

### 6. The Pukóbye

The Pukóbye (= Piocobgêz, Paicogês), the most warlike of all the Timbira, occupied the region east and northeast of the Krîkatí, beyond the upper Rio Grajahú and more particularly the district watered by its western affluent, the Sant' Anna. The Neobrazilians nowadays generally call them Gaviões; their Timbira designation is derived from pukóp or pokóbo, a species of *Dioscorea*—among the Põrekamekra Pohl heard the form Bukobuji. The Krîkatí, Kre'pỳ'mkateye, and occasionally the Ramkõ'kamekra call them Põpéykateye (those on the beautiful [or: true] steppe), as explained above (p. 1).

[361] 721 175 619

In Ribeiro's day they had five large villages, but possibly the Krîkatí were included in the count. At all events they were sufficiently strong and warlike to defeat all the bandeiras dispatched against them.[m]

In 1804 they compelled Francisco Alves dos Santos' bandeira to set at liberty the prisoners taken in their first attack and the bandeira itself to seek safety in precipitate flight. Ten years later they destroyed Manoel de Assumpçao's bandeira, a single wounded man escaping out of a company of forty. According to one account[n] this defeat occurred on June 28, 1813, and there were eighty-six dead. What I myself heard was that the massacre took place in a defile when the bandeira tried to storm the Serra da Desordem, to which the Pukóbye had retired, from its east tip. This Serra is not a range of several hundred kilometers, as the maps would lead one to suppose, but one of the many isolated steep knolls rising somewhat north of the road between Grajahú and Porto Franco from the Tocantins watershed, which now and then is barely perceptible.

Not long after this event the Pukóbye (in 1814 according to Ribeiro; according to Carlota Carvalho in 1813) attacked the settlement of Porto da Chada, then only three years old, at the site of what is now Grajahú. They burned both the houses and the boats in the harbor; thirty-eight persons perished in this onslaught. A punitive expedition composed of bandeiras from São Pedro de Alcantara and Pastos Bons was ignominiously repelled.

619 648 175 131 161

In 1849 the Gaviões are characterized as "ferozes e traiçoeiros" (wild and treacherous),[o] but about the middle of the century they began permanently peaceable relations with the neighboring Neobrazilians. In 1851 they and the Caracteges were put under the same directoria, which comprised the region of the Grajahú from Tapero Leopoldina at 4° 50′ S. latitude to Villa da Chapada (= Grajahú). Their number was then set at 1000.[p]

In 1858 there are listed fourteen peaceable villages, one of them credited with 1000 inhabitants, including 600 warriors (*sic*), and a chief who styled himself "governador." Another is said to have 800 people, including 350 able to bear arms, under the chief Belizario. Two others had a population of 600 each. In addition there were said to be numerous others in a wild state [the Western Gaviões]. Even assuming that these figures comprise the Krîkatí as well, I find them incredible and have still less faith in the "over 6000" Gaviões reported in a tribal list of 1861.

[114]

According to tradition the governador until his death at the beginning of the 'seventies admonished his people to remain at peace and prevented cattle lifting. He further ceded to the Neobrazilians diverse strips of land in return for meager compensation. The site of his erstwhile village, not far from the present Pukóbye settlement of São Felix, still bears his name.

[m] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 62–64, 79; Roteiro, 27, 46; Descripção, 70.
[n] Carlota Carvalho, O Sertão, 43–45.
[o] J. F. Coelho, 76. [p] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." Aguiar, 53.

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619 178 167 The tables have turned by now. Reduced in numbers and robbed of their territory, the Pukóbye survivors have sunk almost to the same untenable position as the Krîkatí in the period of their destruction. Over them, too, the Damocles' sword of a massacre by Grajahú fazendeiros is constantly suspended. For a long time they have been ousted from their tracts along the Rio Sant' Anna (once named R. Piocobgê, after them) and pushed toward the edge of the tropical forest region of the Pindaré. For a long time they inhabited an aldea on the Morro do Chapeu, east of the upper Pindaré. The census of 1919 credits this village with 52 inhabitants, who are wrongly registered as "Canellas." The figure may be too low for that period, but confirms my informants' statements, that the true Pukóbye have dwindled to very inconsiderable numbers, the majority of the people now inhabiting Pukóbye settlements being members of other tribes, notably Krîkatí refugees. [162]

619 161 162 In 1929, when I visited these Indians, they occupied the aldeas of São Felix and Recurso, situated at a distance of sixteen kilometers from each other, somewhat north and south of Morro do Chapeu. They harbored possibly 150 and 120 inhabitants, respectively. In São Felix, more particularly, there were many Krîkatí from the settlements broken up in the previous year. In Recurso I heard about remnants of an unidentifiable Timbira group, the Kôtu'krekateye (those of the little black creek), who are said to have once lived somewhere between the upper Grajahú and Mearim; suspected of participation in the Guajajára rebellion of 1901, they had fled to the Pukóbye.

In 1924 Snethlage recorded one hundred and thirty Pukóbye words in Barra do Corda;[a] five years later in São Felix I took down two hundred and thirty.

### *7. The Western Gaviões*

619 ●101 173 Somewhat below the Araguaya confluence the Tocantins bends northward from its east-west course. The forests in the angle thus formed are now inhabited by an Indian tribe that according to the tradition of the Pukóbye of the Grajahú steppes seceded from them a long time ago, betaking itself to the woods. As a matter of fact the Neobrazilians designate both groups as Gaviões without recognizing any differences between them.

619 175 101 The earlier reports on the region in question register solely a "Jacundá tribe," which, however, does not seem to have been of the Timbira branch. The first to mention it is Villa Real[b] in 1793. At that time they were living on the Guayapi and Jacundá, eastern tributaries of the Tocantins in the region of the Itaboca rapids. Their chiefs were Uoriniuera and Claxira, of which names the former, unlike the second, is definitely Tupí. Notwithstanding the lack of all linguistic evidence Martius and Ehrenreich class the group as Tupí; the latter also erroneously places it on the west side of the Tocantins. The people are described as light skinned and amiable.[c] Ribeiro mentions them in 1819, Castelnau in 1844.[d] In 1849 they are still registered among the tribes within the domain of Santa Thereza mission, and in 1850 Ayres Carneiro met them on the Praia Ambauá, somewhat above what is now Alcobaça.[e] This is their last appearance in history, and in 1859 the Gaviões for the first time figure in their place.[f] At that period they were hostile to all other tribes, likewise avoiding relations with civilized people whenever they encountered them [114]

619 175 221

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 187 f.
[b] Villa Real, Viagem, 425 f., 432.
[c] Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."
[d] Ribeiro, Memoria, Nota 51. Castelnau, Histoire, 2:117.
[e] J. F. Coelho, 76. Carneiro, Itinerario, 25.
[f] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 496.

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constantly pushed northward. During my first stay in Alcobaça (1926) I already heard of hostile Indians in the vicinity of the Caxoeira dos Guaribas (4° S. latitude), but those I saw at the time at Mundurucú, somewhat below these falls, belonged to the Amanayé tribe (of Tupí stock) and had come from the Mojú. In February 1930, when I once more ascended the Tocantins, a new attack had occurred precisely at these rapids, on the Ribeirão Pitinga. The arrows gathered from the site were indistinguishable from the Gaviões type.

However, the present headquarters of the tribe are placed in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Jacundá. This rivulet, not to be confounded with its namesake near the Caxoeira Itaboca, flows from the north emptying into the Tocantins a mile downstream from São João do Araguaya. Upstream they still range along the east bank of the Tocantins about as far as Cocal, three miles beyond the mouth of the Araguaya; in the interior they are said to extend somewhat farther to the east. Their camps have been encountered on the headwaters of the Rio Mojú, which extend much farther south—beyond 4° S. latitude—than the maps indicate. Moreover, the plantations of the Amanayé on the Ararandéua (the western source of the Capim) have been invaded by natives who, judging from the arrows discharged, could only have been Gaviões. Oddly enough, the victimized Tupí tribe calls them Warayú, a name already connected with this area on Father Samuel Frič's map of 1695. The Akwẽ designate all alien tribes as Worazu.

I have never heard of any Gaviões invasion of the region about the forked sources of the Gurupy, a district partly unsettled, partly occupied by the Krẽyé and the Tembé (Tupí). Prior to their migration into the Capim area, the Amanayé used to live on the east fork (the Cajuapára) and later on the middle fork (the Tucumandí). Snethlage is misinformed in speaking of wild Gaviões *or* Urubú in the region of the Gurupy headwaters and in identifying these people with the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and the Timbira of Araparytíua, whom I myself had once erroneously designated as Mehí.[a] The habitat of the Urubú, whom Snethlage correctly classes as Tupí in connection with their attack on Redondo on the Maracassumé,[b] lies between the Gurupy and the Pindaré; they have never gone beyond the Gurupy-Mirim confluence, 3° 40′ S. latitude. Thus, the Gaviões and Urubú were not even immediate neighbors, for they were separated along the Gurupy by the main body of Tembé in ten villages (1914).

Except for a few words, inadequately enough recorded by Moura in 1896 and by Manoel da Matta in 1912, nothing is known about the language of the Western Gaviões. In many respects they seem to differ from the Pụkóbye of the Grajahú steppe. Whether they actually perforate the lower lip, as some allege, has not been definitely determined. On the other hand, though they do pierce the lobe of the ear, they certainly do not wear the large earplugs of the Pụkóbye and other Timbira, nor do they cut their hair so as to produce the characteristically Timbira furrow. In their woods the above-mentioned unsuccessful punitive expedition saw wide, straight streets, which suggest the universal Timbira practice of log racing. There has likewise been found a girdle with rattling tapir hoofs of the type worn by the other tribes in their races.

The Western Gaviões are the only Timbira still living free and unconfined. Their investigation would be of extraordinary significance for the illumination of Timbira culture, but could only become possible by a lucky fluke, for no one knows when or where they will get to the river bank, and to search for them in the interior

[a] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 114, 142.
[b] *Idem.*, Meine Reise, 113.

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619 179 is impracticable. During six trips along the entire range of their territory on the Tocantins I have never seen a single member of the tribe.

### *8. The Kre'pų'mkateye*

619 101 This name I have never been able to grasp fully either as to its meaning or its phonetics. From the lips of the Ramkō'kamekra I recorded it as in the heading of this section; *in situ* I heard it as Krẽ' pų'mkateye or Kreapų'mkateye. Which is correct, I cannot decide because the composition of the word is obscure. Formally it is a locative designating, according to the Indians themselves, a body of water known to Neobrazilians as Lago Comprido (Long Lake). In any event it is not a literal translation of the Neobrazilian term, but possibly the lake is actually called kre' pų'm (or similarly) in the Indian tongue. Possibly the Ramkō'kamekra interpretation holds, viz. that the name denotes a locality where ostriches lay (pum) eggs (kre).

619 175 The designation must be relatively recent, for in the literature it is wholly lacking, and the Neobrazilians nowadays merely refer to this tribe as Timbira. Possibly they are descendants of the old Caracategé (= Cannacategé? = Karēkateye?), whose name persists in the name of a district on the east bank of the Grajahú, just upstream from the present habitat of the Kre' pų'mkateye. In 1851 these Caracategé are certainly still mentioned as living on the Grajahú.[a] Tradition has it that the first Neobrazilians descending the Grajahú (1811) were attacked by Timbira in the immediate vicinity of this locality, since known as Desordem.

Wells briefly mentions the tribe several times, reporting the attempt made in 1863 by the chief Curaxé to negotiate a treaty of peace with the Neobrazilians.[b] On his map the Itambeiras are entered on the left Grajahú bank, between Marajar (= Marajá) and Caracatigy (Caracategé).

[721] During the Guajajára uprising of 1901 these Timbira alone of all the Grajahú residents not only failed to flee from the rebels, but at the instigation of the local authorities attacked the Guajajára with a handful of warriors, cruelly destroying [115] two populous villages. Their old squinting chief, Major Clementino, told me in 1929 how he had personally slain the Guajajára leader.

619 161 The 1919 census of the Serviço do Protecção aos Indios sets the number of Kre' pų'mkateye of Terra Nova, just below the fazenda Independencia, at only 47; this, like many other figures of that census, seems too low. In 1924 Snethlage visited the tribe in their village, then just above Independencia, where they were living with several Guajajára; he estimated the villagers at from 150 to 200.

619 131 177 In 1929 I spent six days with this people in their settlement at Gamelleira do Rumo, ten kilometers farther downstream. They were living in dependence on the proprietor of the fazenda Independencia, and though really not ill-treated they were evidently in a state of decline. At least on the Grajahú, even on the site of their hamlet, they could no longer call a span of land their own.

197 Of their dialect, which differs quite inconsiderably from that of the Krîkatí and Pųkóbye, I recorded two hundred and sixty-nine words on that occasion.

### *9. The Krahō'*

619 101 This name signifies "hair of the paca" (*Coelogenys paca*); it might just as well be interpreted as "burity leaf," but the Indians expressly told me that the term bore the former meaning. It is the tribal name in their own language, as well as that in vogue among other Timbira and Neobrazilians.

[a] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios." [b] Wells, Exploring, 2:284, 285, 277–278.

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Martius gives as synonyms: Grajahús, Guajajáras, and Pepuxis.[a] However, Grajahú is the name of a river, not of a tribe; it is derived from karayá (howling monkey) and ị (water). Guajajára designates the well-known Tupí tribe, never known to have lived even near the Krahõ'. As for Pepuxi, that term will be discussed presently.

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The Akwẽ-Serénte, their southern neighbors, call the Krahõ' by the name Worazúrié (small alien people). Ribeiro at first speaks of them only as Caraús or Caráous" and wonders why "a certain person" (he means Pinto de Magalhães, the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara) had called them Maquemecrans. But later he himself invariably used the form Macamecrans, saying that on the Tocantins they were known as Pepuxis and Tamembos. However, his earliest paper reckons the Pepuxis and Caraús as distinct tribes of the Tocantins, while elsewhere he cites the Timbira Caraoús as a branch of the Pepuxis.

Ignoring the term Macamecrans for the present, we shall devote ourselves to clearing up the confusion concerning the terms Tamembó and Pepuxi. The first chronicler (1812) who mentions the Capepuxis and Temimbós, but not the Krahõ' is Silva e Souza.[b] He places the indolent and predatory Capepuxis in two villages "do Araguaya" (meaning "do Tocantins"), assigning to the peaceable Temimbós five villages near Pastos Bons. His Capepuxi are thus probably identical with the Krahõ'. His Temimbo must designate the Amanayé, though they occupied a single village, one legua from Pastos Bons, where they numbered in 1815 some 20 souls. Cazal, too, equates Temembó and Manajó.[c]

As indicated, Ribeiro, otherwise highly reliable, is full of contradictions on this point. His contemporary, Pohl, who himself visited the Krahõ', registers Timembó as a synonym for Krahõ', while he identifies the Iriecoche, an otherwise unrecorded people living near the Põrekamekra, with the Capepuxi.[d]

In 1824 Cunha Mattos mentions the Pepuxy or Temembó as on the left bank of the Tocantins below São Pedro de Alcantara, adding the Krahõ' as a distinct tribe. Elsewhere he states that the Puxiti (Timbira pụčẽ'ti = Šavánte), Petuxi (?), Pepuxi, or Temembó were living from the Manoel Alves to the Caxoeira das Tres Barras and were of the same tribe as the Macamecrans (= Krahõ'), but immediately thereafter he lists this last group as a separate tribe.[e]

Rivet, and after him, Snethlage, not only adopted Cazal's identification of the Temembó with the Tupí Manajó (= Amanayé), but went so far as to further identify them with the Timbira Aponegicran (= Apạ'nyekra) and to list the Krahõ' separately. The identity of the Temembó with the Krahõ'—as assumed by Ribeiro Magalhães, and Pohl—rests, above all, on the fact that the former name occurs only in the reports of 1812–24, that is, precisely during the period in which the Krahõ' appeared on the Tocantins, spreading along both banks in the very region those older sources ascribe to the Temembó. Against this evidence Cunha Mattos' listing of Temembó and Krahõ' as separate tribes does not weigh heavily, for this author listed the Apinayé as three distinct tribes under as many synonyms.

On the contrary, the identity of the Pepuxi (or Capepuxi, in Silva e Souza's and Pohl's spelling) with the Krahõ' seems highly dubious. Cunha Mattos' Puxiti, recorded as a synonym along with Petuxi and Pepuxi, indicates the name Pụ-čẽ'-ti

[a] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:286.
[b] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 68, 70–74; Roteiro, 62, Notas K, S, U; Descripção, §§ 55, 59, 69.
[c] Silva e Souza, Memoria, 495, 496.
[c] Cazal, Chorographia, 2:265.
[d] Pohl, Reise, 2:191, 211.
[e] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:336; 38:20.

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(large penis sheath), the quite general designation of the Šerénte-Šavánte in Timbira speech. Capepuxi probably stands for Kupẽpụ̃ẽ̃' (alien tribe of the penis sheath). At that time the Šavánte extended as far as the district assigned to the Capepuxi.

About the original habitat of the Krahõ', Ribeiro expresses himself rather obscurely. "Ribeira de Balsa" denotes not the river, but the district so called. This, as appears from the text, included primarily the region of the Rio Macapá. Strangely enough, when this author gives as boundaries of the Ribeira da Lapa the rivers Manoel Alves Grande, Sereno, and Balsas, we must not understand thereby the angle south of the Sereno, but the district to the north, since the "Lapa" for which the district was named is situated near the present Riachão. Moreover, the Krahõ' were neighbors and enemies of the Akwẽ-Šavánte, who according to Ribeiro originally occupied the country northward to the Rio Farinha and beyond the Rio Balsas, including the above-mentioned Ribeira da Lapa. Thus, the Krahõ' must have dwelt originally in the region of the Neves and Macápa, not as some assume in the southeastern panhandle of the present state of Maranhão.

However, in Ribeira's day they had already been crowded westward from these ancient headquarters into the district between the Farinha and Manoel Alves Grande, of which they dispossessed the Šavánte. Here, too, they were pursued by bandeiras and pushed toward and even beyond the Tocantins. As bitter enemies of the stockbreeders, who had ousted them from their former country, they destroyed the fazenda do Sacco in 1808 and Vargem de Pascoa in the Balsas region in 1809. Thereupon one hundred and fifty volunteers and twenty soldiers victoriously attacked one of their villages, taking seventy prisoners, who were sent to São Luiz. Then the Krahõ' begged for peace, which was granted on condition that they would abide by the treaty. Their numbers were at that time estimated at 3000.[166]

In the following year they commenced friendly relations with the founder of São Pedro de Alcantara (now Carolina), Francisco José Pinto de Magalhães, and definitively moved to the Tocantins.

Pohl's statements might suggest the inference that Magalhães first (in 1808?) made allies of the Põrekamekra on the left bank of the Tocantins, not concluding peace with the Krahõ' until they had crossed the river and come into armed conflict with the Põrekamekra.[167] In this appeasement he is supposed to have been aided by a Krahõ' mistress. In any case the Krahõ' henceforth played a double part. On the one hand, in the guise of peaceable Indians, they inflicted on their old enemies, the Eastern fazendeiros, as much damage as possible by stealing cattle and imputing the theft to other tribes. On the other hand, they were Magalhães' faithful allies in all bandeiras against the other Timbira. Naturally, Magalhães represents these expeditions as defensive measures of his own and on the part of the Krahõ', but from Ribeiro we know that the primary motive was the craving for slaves, Magalhães maintaining a brisk trade in such with Piuhy and beyond the Tocantins as far as Pará. A missionary sent to him by the Goyaz government actively participated in this business. Magalhães was even reported to have sold his one-time mistress, the Krahõ' girl he had used in his negotiations for peace.[168] His best tool in the slave raids was the Krahõ' chief Apúierît, who (as Magalhães put it) magnanimously turned over to him all of his own captives. He was subsequently poisoned by his own people.

[166] Cf. Pohl, Reise 2:182–207.
[167] *Ibid.*, 2:187.
[168] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Sao Pedro de Alcantara."

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After Magalhães' death the Krahô' constantly retreated farther west and south before the encroaching fazendeiros. In 1825 Cunha Mattos has them settled in three villages with 200 warriors;[9] they were situated in the strip of São Pedro de Alcantara which Goyaz had ceded to Maranhão in 1816. Thence many had moved to the Ilha de São José, 6° 50′, and from there to the mainland opposite. In 1829 the Krahô', attacked for their misdeeds by the officials of Maranhão, formed a league with the Apinayé, which sorely troubled the border commandant of Carolina. This alliance endured until 1923, when animosity arose because of the steps the Apinayé were taking against a Krahô' sorcerer.

In 1844 Castelnau encountered the Krahô' on the Tocantins and took down a word list.[10] He mistook them for an Apinapé tribe, an inaccuracy matched by Coudreau's statement that the Canella and Krahô' had formerly been a single group that did not split up until the period of the chief Major Tito.[11] Castelnau sets the limits of Krahô' territory on the east bank of the Tocantins between somewhat below São Pedro de Alcantara and the Ilha dos Campos, 6° 40′. Opposite the upper end of the Ilha de São José there was on the west bank the aldea of Carolina with some fifteen houses. Further, this author has two aldeas opposite each other somewhat above the mouth of the Manoel Alves Grande, but mentions only one of them in his text. Probably, however, the two settlements visited by Castelnau with their total of eighteen huts and a presumable population of 140 to 150, did not represent the entire surviving part of the tribe: it seems likely that there were other Krahô' settlements in the interior.

For a long time the idea had arisen of transferring the Krahô' farther upstream, to the mouth of the Rio do Somno.[12] The plan obviously had a twofold object. First, there was a desire to get rid of the erstwhile allies, whose cattle lifting made them an increasing nuisance; secondly, they were to be pitted against their ancient enemies, the Savánte-Serénte, who remained a menace to Carolina. In 1848 the Capuchin missionary, Brother Rafael Tuggia, achieved this transfer by founding the mission of Pedro Affonso at the mouth of the Rio do Somno. But he was unable to retain the Krahô' permanently at that station, where the epidemics of 1849 and 1850 wrought such havoc that by 1852 their population had shrunk to 620.[13] In 1859 they inhabited three villages about four leagues from Pedro Affonso.[14] The influence of the mission on tribal custom seems to have been extraordinarily slight. On the other hand, according to their own tradition, the Krahô' owe their strong mixture with Negroes to the twenty-seven year long mission period, which lasted until 1875. Their subsequent chief, Major Tito, who became famous for his wealth and was later murdered by Neobrazilians, was a Negro breed, as are nearly all of the present Krahô' chiefs.

In 1910 there appeared in the city of Bahia a Timbira with perforated lower lip who called himself Capitão Luiz, his Indian name being Catome (= Ka'tę'm). He pretended to be the chief of the Krahô' village of Gamelleira on the Rio Preto, in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Bahia. Theodoro Sampaio tried to pump him as to the condition of his people, but for reasons of his own the Indian was very reserved in his statements, though willing to furnish a long word list of the "Kraô" tongue, which Sampaio published in 1912.

[9] Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:20, 286.
[10] Castelnau, Histoire, 2:41, 47, 115. See also his map 25 in the "Itinéraire" and the "Géographie."
[11] Coudreau, Tocantins-Araguaya, 310.
[12] Pohl, Reise, 2:174. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:384.
[13] Tuggia, 122.
[14] Ferreira Gomes, Itinerario, 490.

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115 In 1913 I met the same Luiz Ka'tą'm in Rio de Janeiro at the chief office of the
101 Serviço de Protecção aos Indios and also took down samples of his language. He told me, too, that he was a Krahõ' and was living on the Manoel Alves Pequeño, where the villages of this tribe, including Gamelleira, are actually situated. Today I am certain that he was not a Krahõ', but an Apinayé from Bacaba, as clearly proved by his name, his perforated lower lip, and the vocabulary. His mendacious statements were made in order to establish his citizenship in Bahia, with claims to support from the government of that state. When once known to the outside world as a Krahõ', he deemed it wiser to persist in the pretense in order to guard against the contingency of being recognized by some Bahian in Rio.

The Krahõ' have never lived on the Rio Preto or elsewhere in Bahia. Both Sampaio's and my own vocabulary of 1913 are useless as samples of Krahõ' speech, for both represent pure Apinayé, while (as Martius noted in 1819 when recording his Aponegieran word list) the Krahõ' dialect wholly coincides with that of the Canella.

115 What little information Luiz Ka'tą'm dropped concerning the customs of his
171 people in speaking with Sampaio either applies exclusively to the Apinayé (burity
114 carrying girdle for children, assistance rendered at rapids) or is incorrect (stone knives, transport of fire in pottery). Sampaio's vocabulary also contains a comical blunder: "soul" (Portuguese alma) = catonço; but katõk actually signifies firearms (Port. arma). Equally unreliable is the localization of Gê tribes on his map.

In 1926 Snethlage met several Krahõ' in Carolina and with their aid took down a list of seventy words. In April and May 1930, when I lived among this tribe, I dispensed with obtaining a special vocabulary because of the manifest identity of Krahõ' with the Rąmkõ'kamekra dialect.

619 I was able to ascertain that the tribe, which now lives in the district of the Rio
131 Manoel Alves Pequeño, between 8° and 9° S. latitude, has two subdivisions, a northern and a southern.

177 The southern group, which bears the name of Mąkamekra (ostrich tribe), had had its village first on the Gamelleira, then on the Donzella, these being brooks tributary to the upper Manoel Alves Pequeño. A short time before my visit, however, the pressure of the near-by fazendeiros had caused a split, each half now living separately under the chiefs Secundo and Bernardino, respectively, around the headwaters of that river. A friend of the Indians long resident in their vicinity, Santo Moreira, tried hard to prop up the tottering community and to defend the last bit of Indian land against the intruding stockbreeders. But the wiles and calumny of his opponents, with whom the despicable chief Secundo was in league, thwarted all his efforts.

619 The other subdivision, inhabiting the aldeas of Pedra Branca (pl. 1, *a*) and Pedra
131 Furada some fifty kilometers to the north, on right affluents of the Rio Manoel
621 Alves Pequeño, is called Kenpókateye, that is, those of the flat rock. For the time being two villages of seventeen and sixteen houses, respectively, remain closely knit communities which are still organized up to a certain point in ancient Timbira fashion. To be sure, the Brazilian Baptist missionaries stationed near Pedra Furada are exerting themselves to break up the old organization. They wish to settle the Indians according to the missionaries' notions of a colony, with abolition of log racing, etc. But since the influence of this mission is clearly very slight, the hope remains that these plans, whose realization would signify the beginning of the end for the Krahõ' will not be executed in the immediate future.

619 In 1930 the surviving Mąkamekra numbered close to 100; the two Kenpókateye
162 villages may be set at 150 souls each, so that the entire Krahõ' tribe may be estimated at 400.

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619 177 In comparison with the Rąmkõ'kamekra the Krahõ' appear culturally impoverished—a possible result of their repeated wanderings and of their resettlement under Neobrazilian influence.

### *10. The Põrekamekra*

619 ●101 114 According to the mutually corroboratory testimony of Ribeiro and the Krahõ' the remnants of the Põrekamekra merged with the Mąkamekra horde of the Krahõ' over a century ago. Ribeiro identifies them with the Cupinharó, but remarks subsequently that these people, of whom he had learnt in 1800 as steppe dwellers to the west of the Grajahú, either had never existed at all or had been destroyed by the Põrekamekra and Pųkóbye.[a] The tribal name in question, which still figures in the traditions of contemporary Rąmkõ'kamekra, is doubtless Timbira kupẽyaró, from kupẽ (alien tribe) and ro (stooping, bent). Thus, the very term proves that it refers to a non-Timbira people, thereby excluding the Põrekamekra. Martius suggests that they may have been Tupí and explains the name as Cupynuaras (ant men).

In 1722 or 1723 war was waged against the Cupinharós, Guanarés, Barbados, and Anapurús—all of them tribes of the northeast corner of Maranhão, between the Itapicurú and Parnahyba,[b] but at the beginning of the nineteenth century the tribe is mentioned solely for the Tocantins region. It is said to have owned an idol (dance mask?) which the commandant of Pastos Bons sent to the governor of Maranhão. According to Martius,[c] the tribe was existing "even today" (1819? 1867?) unconfined on the Tocantins, south of São Pedro de Alcantara. In any event, Ribeiro's identification of the Kupẽyaró and the Põrekamekra is unacceptable.

The only two, almost synchronous, sources on the Põrekamekra, Pohl (1819) and Ribeiro (who saw them in 1815 and probably also later) are not easily reconciled. According to Pohl, Pinto de Magalhães, after his sudden appearance on the Tocantins in 1808, first made a treaty of peace with this tribe on the west bank, subsequently coming to terms with the Krahõ' attackers of the Põrekamekra. Contrary to Pohl, the Põrekamekra could not formerly have lived much farther south, for there lay the territory of the Akwẽ-Šavánte. During Magalhães' subsequent stay in Pará, Antonio Moreira's bandeira attacked and massacred the Indians. In 1810 Magalhães returned, assembled the Indians anew, and founded São Pedro de Alcantara, while Placido Carvalho, who had accompanied him from Pará, settled with the Põrekamekra at Cocal, at the apex of the great westward bend of the Tocantins below Carolina, that is, on the west bank. Pohl seems to indicate that this occurred immediately after Magalhães' return. Nine years later Pohl visited the colony of Cocal, remaining from August 9 to 11, 1819.

According to this author, then, the Põrekamekra resided on the west side of the Tocantins at least from about 1808 until 1819.

619 175 Ribeiro, certainly far more familiar with the development of the district after his nineteen years' stay than Pohl could have been after a three days' visit, tells the history of this tribe quite differently. He credits the Põrekamekra originally with two villages between the Pųkóbye (Grajahú region) and the mouth of the Rio [61] Farinha, that is, on the east bank. After Antonio Moreira's offer of peace to one of the villages in 1814, its 400 to 500 inhabitants (not counting the children), headed by chief Cocrît, appeared in São Pedro de Alcantara, bearing green twigs in token of peace. Several months later they moved their settlement near this town, but their

[a] Ribeiro, Roteiro, § 61; Memoria, § 63.
[b] Pereira da Costa, Chronologia, 135.
[c] Martius, Beiträge, 1:198.

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619 175 chief was captured and the rest were abused to such an extent that part of them joined the Krahõ', while the remainder despondently sought safety in flight.

The second village of the Põrekamekra, as well as that of the equally peaceable "Ponecatagê" (Põkateye, those of the steppe; an unidentifiable tribe), was visited by the bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara and the allied Krahõ'. The Indians had fled, but persuaded by promises made to them through Cocrit, 364 of them consented to appear before the bandeira, only to be thrown into fetters amid horrible murders and other deeds of violence. Some were still able to flee, but 164 were captured, 130 of them—the bandeira leader's share—being branded with redhot irons and sold to Pará. Of this occurrence on July 24, 1815, Ribeiro, according to his express statement, was an eyewitness.

619 161 114 It is thus incomprehensible that four years later Pohl should have found 600 to 700 Põrekamekra peaceably residing in Cocal. Possibly he merely saw another group erroneously identified by Carvalho as Põrekamekra. Cunha Mattos, who mentions Cocal as late as 1824, described its residents as Cherente (?)."

The tribal name is not derived from "pure," burity leafstalk, as Ribeiro's orthography would suggest, but according to what the Krahõ' explicitly told me, from põre, a small falcon known to the Neobrazilians as caboré.

619 197 Pohl mentions a vocabulary recorded by him and refers readers to his Appendix, but I cannot find it in the two copies of his work accessible to me. Thus, I am acquainted with only the thirty words given by Martius here and there for purposes of comparison."

Nevertheless, it is clear that, as with the neighboring Pụkóbye and Krahõ', the speech represents the southeastern dialect of Timbira. They differed to their advantage in their amicable, peaceable character, stressed by both Ribeiro and Pohl, which reminds one of their northwestern neighbors, the Apinayé. [181]

### *11–13. The Canella*

619 161 Neobrazilians unite the Kénkateye, Apą'nyekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra under the single head of Canellas. These tribes themselves, however, lack a common name for the three groups and recognize no closer affinity among themselves than between any of the three and the Krahõ' or the Čą'kamekra.

619 101 114 In the sertão no other tribes have ever been connected with that appellation. Martius, too, classes as Canellas finas only the Corume- and Capie-Crans (= Rąmkõ'-kamekra) and the Aponegi-Crans (= Apą'nyekra); possibly the Kénkateye were not yet in existence in his day." On the other hand, Snethlage defines the concept quite differently, making it comprise: (a) Aponegikrãn = Temembó = Mannajo; (b) Kapiekrãn; (c) Sacamekrãn = Gamellas de Codo; (d) Korumekrãn; (e) Acobu; (f) Remkókamekrãn; (g) Aponyekrãn; (h) Kénkateye."

This list evokes the following comments:

The Aponegikrãn are, indeed, identical with Aponyekrãn, or rather Apą'nyekra but not with the Temembó and, still less, with the Mannajo (= Amanayé). Kapiekrãn, Korumekrãn, and Remkókamekran are merely three distinct names for one tribe, the Canella of Ponto. The Sacamekrãn were quite distinct from the Gamella of Codó, in fact, were their bitter enemies. On the other hand, these Gamella, who are not Timbira at all, are identical with the Acobu (= Hakąpó).

In Les Capiekrans, Father Etienne Ignace gives misleading statements about the habitat of the Canella whose coastal origin he "proves" by their allegedly excessive

" Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 38:386.
" Martius, Beiträge, vol. 2.
" *Ibid.*, 1:285.
" Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 141.

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salting of food even at the present day! He assigns to the Canella four villages near Grajahú, viz. Dois Braços—an old Guajajára colony somewhat above Barra do Corda; Jacaré (unknown to me, but certainly not a Canella village); Ponto (actually Canella, but seventy-eight kilometers south of Barra do Corda); and Mocura (a former Cę'kamekra settlement southeast of Barra do Corda). However, this author asserts, contrary to the facts at any period, that Canella groups reside in and around Barra do Corda, alongside of Craméro (?) and Crarros Indians (Krahõ', fifty kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda). His other statements likewise are most inaccurate and refer, as Snethlage correctly recognized, to tribes outside the Gê stock. Ignace's history of the Capiekran is a greatly abbreviated and disfigured summary of Ribeiro, and the vocabulary he obtained from Canella Indians visiting Bahia in 1902 includes a considerable number of words not belonging to their speech.

Similarly we must correct the statements of Pompeu Sobrinho concerning the habitat of the Canella.[28] These neither resided at the Balsas headwaters until a few years ago, nor are they at present situated in the missions of Barra do Corda. Their villages never lay on the left bank of the Rio Corda, but invariably east of this river. Of the five names he cites as borne by the principal Canella settlements, Capim = Porquinhos, and Soledade = Travessia. Both the Timbira of the Gurupy and the forest-dwelling Krẽyé of Bacabal call the Canella by the name Krĩkatí, and the Pụkôbye by the name Põkatie (those of the steppes [põ]). Ribeiro, too, mentions the Poncatgê in connection with the Põrekamekra. To the Akwẽ-Šerénte the Canella tribes are known as Worazúzauré (large alien tribe) in contrast to the Worazuríe (Krahõ').

Ribeiro was the first writer to apply the term Canellas finas; he applied it to the Capiecrans (our Rąmkõ'kamekra) and expressly admits ignorance of the etymology of this name: "nome do qual ignoramos a etymologia."[29] Others, however, were not backward in giving interpretations. Martius translates the name as "thin feet," declaring that the Corumecrans achieved the desired slenderness for their lower legs by means of tight cotton bands adopted in youth.[30] Saint-Adolphe has it that the discoverers of the Timbira dubbed them "Canellas finas" because of the thinness of their legs and bodies; while Kissenberth translates the name as "Indians with thin shinbones."[31] Finally, Snethlage declares that the thin calves of the Krãn tribes had always aroused attention, whence the Capiekrãn were designated as "Canellas finas."

To be sure, canella signifies "shinbone" and "calf" to boot, for which vulgar Portuguese lacks a separate term; it is also true that fino means "thin, fine, delicate." These facts, however, were naturally known to Ribeiro as well as to others of Portuguese speech; if he preferred to leave the rendering open, it was because his undoubtedly accurate knowledge of Capiecran had taught him to reject the common interpretation of the phrase. Certainly it would be remarkable if the very people who from childhood on ardently practice running and log racing as their national sport were to be distinguished from other tribes by the delicacy of their calves. A glance at their photographs suffices to dispel this interpretation.

Personally I should prefer to follow Ribeiro's example, but tentatively propose

[28] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 4, 8.
[29] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 45.
[30] "Ihre Unterschenkel sind mit Querbändern von gefärbter Baumwolle geziert, deren straffes Anziehen von Jugend auf sie als Mittel betrachten, die gewünschte Schlankheit zu erlangen." Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:822. Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.
[31] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Timbiras." Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47.

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Personally I should prefer to follow Roberts's example, but tentatively propose
131 the following explanation. Many maps, especially those of earlier date, register
101 between the Rio Corda and the upper Mearim (or its tributary rivulet, the Engeitado) a range of mountains.[99] In reality this, as in other comparable cases, is nothing but an elongated hill hardly one hundred meters above the valley of the Corda. It is visible if one looks from the Apą'nyekra settlement of Porquinhos obliquely upstream across the near-by Rio Corda. This eminence, nowadays commonly known as Pedra Branca, figures on the maps cited as "Serra da Canella" (*nota bene: da Canella, not dos Canellas*, as would be inevitable if it were named after the Indian tribe of that name, in whose territory it lies). Whence, then, the appellation for this eminence? The term Canella designates not only "shinbone," but also "cinnamon"; in northern Brazil there are several trees whose bark emits a cinnamon-like odor and which are for that reason quite generally called canella. Conceivably—but only conceivably—the Serra da Canella (fina) got its name from a (slender) cinnamon tree, and the Indians in turn were called after the mountain in their country.

619 101 174 *1. Kénkateye.*—The first sizable left affluent of the Rio Alpercatas is still known as Ribeirão dos Caboclos (caboclo = Indian) because it was the former habitat of the Kénkateye Canella, whose name denotes "those of the rock (or mountains)." According to Rąmkõ'kamekra and Apą'nyekra statements the formation of this tribe seems to be of recent date—I should conjecture about the 'sixties of the last century. It is said to refer to an Apą'nyekra band that at one time joined the Krahõ', who were uniformly friendly to this tribe. Later, the story goes, the emigrants, reinforced by a number of Krahõ', returned and settled in the region of the Alpercatas headwaters, which is known as the *travessia*. In the late summer of 1908 619 175 Kissenberth when traveling from Barra do Corda to Carolina, visited a settlement of eight huts belonging to this tribe, but did not stay more than a few hours.[100]

[161] In 1913 the approximately 150 Kénkateye living in the village of Chinello on the right bank of the Ribeirão dos Caboclos were wiped out by the fazendeiro Raymundo Arruda. With a company of fifty followers and a barrel of gin he entered the aldea to the music of an accordion, got the men drunk, put them in irons, tied them to one another, dragged them outside the village, and had his troop shoot down some fifty males. Several women were also massacred with firearms and bush-knives. Those natives who for one reason or another escaped dispersed. Fróes Abreu's account of this incident is incorrect.[101] The Indian inspector of Maranhão had the murderers put on trial, but the jury of Barra do Corda unanimously acquitted them, and even today the residents proudly point out the members of Arruda's troop who began the massacre.

619 177 114 Most of the survivors sought and found refuge with their old Krahõ' friends, among whom I saw some in 1930 at Pedra Furada. Others fled to the Apą'nyekra, and a few to the Pųkóbye and Rąmkõ'kamekra, but as an independent group they are extinct. Snethlage sets the remnants at possibly 200[102] and makes them reside on the Rio Balsas with other tribal residues—a double error. Pompeu Sobrinho is mistaken in still crediting the fraction residing among the Apą'nyekra with a chief of their own.[103]

619 101 *12. The Apą'nyekra.*—This term (or its variants Apą'nekra and Apą'nkamekra) is common to the people themselves and their neighbors. It is derived from apą'n

[99] Brué, Carte du Brésil. Niemeyer, Carta do Imperio do Brazil.
[100] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 47; Araguaya-Reise, 41.
[101] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 225.
[102] Nordostbras. Ind., 142; on p. 116 he only speaks of "several" (*einigen*).
[103] Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 5.

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619 (piranha [*Serrasalmo* sp.]), referring to the red paint put on the lower jaw, a
101 decoration peculiar to this tribe among the Timbira. Ribeiro mentions the "Ponecra" as neighbors of the Sacamecrans (Čą'kamekra)." In 1819 Martius obtained a vocabulary from a band of this tribe mixed with Krahô', which had come on a visit to Caxias." His orthography of the tribal name, "Aponegierans," proves that he heard it not from the natives themselves, but from one of his Brazilian informants, probably Oliveira Figueiredo, since Ribeiro's spelling gives a simpler and phonetically better form. Martius' word forms in some measure coincide with my lists of 1913 and 1930. His frequent use of the "Seh" symbol is due to the occasional merging of the "y" sound into "z" or "ž" among the Apą'nyekra (as well as Krahô').

619 In 1913 I encountered a Canella band at São Luiz and obtained a short word list
115 from the leader. He mendaciously declared himself a Rąmkô'kamekrere, that is, Rąmkô'kamekra from Ponto. Subsequently I got to know him well; he turned out to be the chief of the Apą'nyekra of Porquinhos, Capitão Chico Noleto. Members of his tribe often pretend to be Rąmkô'kamekra, because these enjoy a somewhat better reputation among Neobrazilians.

619 The Apą'nyekra occupy the village of Porquinhos on a small right-hand tribu-
131 tary of the upper Rio Corda. In the east they used to adjoin the Rąmkô'kamekra on the Porcos-Papagaio watershed, these being likewise tributaries of the river from the same direction. Westward they extended beyond the Rio Corda: into the steppe region of the upper Mearim—not the forests, which are held by the Guajajára. Their western neighbors were probably the Pųkóbye of the Rio Grajahú region.

619 Of this ancient habitat they retain approximately the site of their present vil-
721 lage. Their community is decadent: the residents are almost constantly gadding
178 about on the outside, devoting little time to agriculture. Their impertinent mendicancy, in which the above-mentioned chief excels, makes a sojourn among them highly unpleasant. Allegedly they were often at war with the Rąmkô'kamekra and proved more than a match for them. At present they are inferior in numbers and otherwise to their old enemies, who rather look down upon them, while their relations with the Krahô' and Pųkóbye have always been better.

619 The census of 1919 estimates the Apą'nyekra at 118 souls; during my visit in
161 1929 I set the figure somewhat higher, at possibly 130. Since then it has obviously increased somewhat. In 1930 I obtained a vocabulary of one hundred and sixty-nine words.

619 *13. The Rąmkô'kamekra.*—Until 1934 these eastern neighbors of the Apą'nyekra
131 occupied the large village of Ponto, south of Barra do Corda, near the sources of
101 the Santo Estevão, a left affluent of the Ourives. As to the distance of Ponto from Barra do Corda observers are strangely at variance: Snethlage sets it at one hundred and twenty kilometers; Fróes Abreu speaks of one hundred kilometers, which his map reduces to fifty; having myself covered the entire distance on a mount some twenty times and measured part of it with a 10-meter rod, I cannot put the distance above seventy-eight kilometers."

The tribal name is derived from a small eastern source of the Santo Estevão known to Neobrazilians as Cabeceira do Campo. This brook (kô, water) in turn gets its name from the almecega trees (rąm, almecega [*Protium* sp.]) along its banks. Thus, the word as a whole designates "the tribe on the almecega water."

" Ribeiro, Roteiro, 43.
" Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:820. Beiträge, 2:149.
" Snethlage, Meine Reise, 464. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 167.

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To the Apą'nyekra, Krahõ' and Pųkóbye they are known as Kǫ'ikra, Kǫirumekra (eastern tribe, from kǫ'i east, kǫ'irum, toward the east). Martius's spelling of this name is "Corumecrans." They are descended from the "Capiecran" of old, whose sad history Ribeiro records;[28] yet that appellation is wholly unknown and unintelligible to the tribesmen today.

Originally their territory embraced the steppes between the Itapicurú and the Corda, as far northward as about 5° 50', where the dry-forest habitat of the hostile Čą'kamekra begins to dominate in the region of the Rio das Flores. Eastward they roved as far as Picos, which according to Ribeiro was among the settlements destroyed by them. Toward the west the Porcos-Papagaios watershed separated them from the Apą'nyekra. Thus, they occupied at one time the region of the middle and lower Alpercatas, of the Ourives and Poreus, except for that northernmost section which already falls into the dry-forest zone.

Annually the Capiecran suffered from the bandeiras, against whose attacks the open steppes put them at a definite disadvantage. From 1793–1801 they sustained heavy losses, especially of women and children, many of whom were carried off by the soldiers under the leadership of Domingos Lopes, the commandant of Pastos Bons. In the following years these defeats were avenged in a series of furious attacks, which compelled the Neobrazilians to abandon all their fazendas—according to Ribeiro, well over thirty on both sides of the Alpercatas.

In 1814 the Capiecran, beaten by the Čą'kamekra, accepted the terms of a treaty offered by the leader of a bandeira—on condition of receiving aid in the destruction of their enemies. In the beginning of 1815 the tribe under its chief, Tempẽ', marched to Burityzinho on a left affluent of the Itapicurú, between the present towns of Picos and Mirador; and during that year it participated in a raid against the Čą'kamekra. They were now to be settled at Barra do Corrente on the Itapicurú, but the plan was not executed.[29] Instead of reorganizing the tribe in adjustment to the new conditions, the authorities left it to shift by itself without attention to its economic maintenance. In consequence the Capiecran scattered in small bands over the settled neighborhood, inflicting almost more serious damage on the residents by theft than in the previous period of warfare by their raids.

Instead of nipping the trouble in the bud, the officials remained wholly passive for two years, even suppressing all complaints of the aggrieved settlers. Then abruptly the reverse attitude was assumed. On the subterfuge that assistance was once more required for an expedition against the Čą'kamekra, a large part of the tribe was lured to Caxias, which was then afflicted with a smallpox epidemic. On their arrival a number of Indian women were arrested on a charge of having stolen victuals—among them the chief's wife. By way of punishment they were flogged and chained up without consideration for their suckling babes. When Tempẽ' and a few others remonstrated, one of his men was killed and he himself flogged. Despondent in view of this treachery, the half-starved and already smallpox-infected Capiecran scattered, seeking to escape to their former home, but even in this wretched plight they were pursued and some of them shot down near São José, fourteen leguas from Caxias. The epidemic, however, had already spread in October 1817 to the Apinayé beyond the Tocantins and came to victimize thousands of Indians. In 1819 Ribeiro reports that there were only scattered remnants of the Capiecran on the east bank of the Grajahú and at Burityzinho.

Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition still preserves the memory of that chief Tempẽ', whose

[28] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 45–61; Roteiro, 43–45.
[29] Moreira Pinto, Apontamentos, "Canellas finas."

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name has been matrilineally transmitted until today, of the treaty, and of the tragic incidents at Caxias. But it speaks of Tempẽ''s murder, while Ribeiro ascribes his death to the smallpox. Further, the natives report the flight of the tribe into the dry forest in the angle formed by the Corda and the Ribeirão dos Porcos; and how a tribesman whose daughter had remained among the colonists acted as a go-between negotiating a new treaty of peace. This they have loyally kept; for the rebellion of 1860 against the Indian superintendent João da Cunha Alcanfor on the upper Mearim was not, as Father Bartolomeo da Monza has it, a Canella but a Guajajára uprising.[33] In the 1901 revolt of the Guajajára the Rąmkõ'kamekra furnished a contingent of 40 (not 200, as Ignace writes) warriors under chief Major Delfino Kõkaipó to aid the troops sent against the rebels.

In 1924 Snethlage spent three weeks, in 1928 Fróes Abreu four days in Ponto; I shall have frequent occasion to cite their observations. In 1929 I paid my first visit there, spending a little over a month; in 1930, 1931, 1933, 1935, and 1936 I stayed there, respectively, a little over two months, two and a half months, nearly three months, over two months, and two and a half months. Adopted as the son of the above-mentioned Delfino Kõkaipó's son, I bear his Indian name.

In 1934 lack of timber for clearings forced the Indians to abandon Ponto and to seek a new site a little farther downstream, at Baixão Preto, where a measles epidemic carried off some twenty children. Thereupon the settlement was moved to a somewhat higher altitude, but the grippe immediately demanded a number of further victims, and this scourge had not yet disappeared when the smallpox set in (1935). After the death of their principal chief, Ropkạ', the Indians fled in various directions, but reunited after the lapse of several months, some on the Ribeirão dos Bois, others on the Ribeirão dos Pombos. Each of these fractions obstinately insisted on the other's giving up its settlement in order to join the other. With some difficulty I persuaded them in 1936 to form a new common village on the Ribeirão da Rapoza.

The population seems to have maintained itself at a level in recent years. The census of 1919 lists Ponto with 226 inhabitants, clearly an understatement. On the other hand, Snethlage's figure of 400 for Remakokamekrãn and Sakamekrãn, that is, for Ponto in 1929, is certainly excessive. In 1933 I counted 298; in 1935 they had decreased to 265, but in 1936 they numbered close to 300.

On the speech of the three Canella tribes the following material has been published:

1819. Martius, Beiträge, 2:149. 164 words (Aponegicran-Apạ'nyekra).
1902. Ignace, Les Capiecrans, 479. 36 words (Canellas, tribe not specified).
1908. Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 53. 46 words (Canellas of Soledade-Kénkateye).
1913. Nimuendajú, Vokabular der Timbiras. 55 words (allegedly Remakókamekrere, actually Apạ'nyekra).
1924. Snethlage, Unter nordostbrasilianischen Indianern, 187 f. 399 words (Rąmkõ'kamekran).
1928. Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras, 201 f. 200 words and short sentences, 38 personal names (Canella of Ponto-Rąmkõ'kamekra).
1929–1930. Pompeu Sobrinho, Merrime, 17 f. 798 words (Portuguese-Canella and Canella-Portuguese). His grammatical remarks rest on dubious forms and are often positively incorrect: feminine suffix, plural by duplication, word contraction, pronominal infixation, etc.

### *14. The Čạ'kamekra*

To the northeast, beyond the watershed of the Rio Corda basin, the Rąmkõ'kamekra were bounded by the territory of their ancient enemies, the Čạ'kamekra, who held the district of the Rio das Flores, a rivulet entering the Rio Mearim from the east;

[33] Bartolomeo da Monza, Massacro di Alto Alegre.

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but they have never resided on the Rio Balsas, where Martius places them.[177] Because the dry forest already predominates in their habitat, the Neobraxilians call these people Timbiras da Matta or Matteiros. Another appellation for them, unintelligible to me, apparently used to be Terantim, which occurs as early as 1731; likewise the form Berintim.[178]

The term they themselves and the other Timbira apply is Čą'kamekra, from čąre (steppe fox [*Canis brasiliensis*]). Ribeiro's spelling "Sacamecran" and Snethlage's "Sakamekrãn," though the latter's word lists twice render "tschorã" as raposa (= steppe fox). Alternative Rąmkõ'kamekra terms for this people are Irómkateye (those of the forest [iróm]), and Mukúrkateye, after the Brejo da Mucura, the site of their last village.

In Ribeiro's day the Čą'kamekra were an extremely warlike tribe, which ravaged the fazendas along the Caxias-Pastos Bons route and later made navigation on the Mearim unsafe. At that time they occupied the villages of Alagoas and Pintado. After their defeat by Felix do Rego toward the close of the eighteenth century, they suffered no serious harm from any bandeira. In 1815 a part of the tribe was tricked by false proposals of peace, captured with the assistance of Capiecran, and publicly auctioned off in Caxias as slaves.

In 1818 another bandeira offered proposals for a new treaty and gifts, of which only the latter were accepted. A cargo of iron tools, which was thereupon sent them, they also accepted, but without presenting themselves to the forwarders. Finally, however a number of them went downstream in the boat, ostensibly to ratify the treaty in Caxias, but at the Remanso do Urubú they murdered the crew and fled back into the woods.

The military post of Principe Regente at the Alpercaras-Itapicurú confluence played a great part in the conflicts with both Čą'kamekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra. Even before the establishment of Pastos Bons (1764) a road had been pushed onward from Caxias into this region, though Indian attacks necessitated its abandonment. During the first four years of the post, twenty members of the garrison were killed by the Indians. For three years its commandant was the oft-cited Francisco de Paula Ribeiro. In 1817 political intrigues led to its abandonment in favor of the newly laid out settlement of Almeida, fifteen kilometers below the present Picos. Thereupon the Indian attacks immediately multiplied to such an extent that even São Zacharias farther downstream had to be abandoned.[179]

The Čą'kamekra remained hostile until at least the 'forties. In 1847 mention is still made of the two Matteiro villages. In 1854 we hear of several hordes living scattered on the banks of the Mearim between the Morro do Cocal Grande (= Morro do Pontal?) and the Morro do Bezerra, that is, about between 5° 10′ and 5° 20′, as well as near Picos on the Itapicurú. In 1855 some forty were living on the Morro do Bezerra, where a number died of fever in the course of the next two years. Others moved to the Rio dos Flores while the remainder was settled at Intans, a little below the Morro do Bezerra, whence they migrated to the Canellas da Chapada (?). Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition likewise tells of peace made by the Čą'kamekra many years ago; thereupon the two tribes jointly occupied one village, but disease caused them to separate again.

At all events the remnants of the Čą'kamekra reunited in the region of the upper Rio das Flores, where they constantly receded southward before the wave of settlers. In the 'nineties they lived on the Brejo da Mucura, one of the most remote

[177] Martius, Beiträge, 1:285.
[178] Annaes, 5:553, 559. Pereira do Lago, Itinerario, 421.
[179] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 36; Roteiro, 64, Nota 27. Marques, Apontamentos, 16, 27.

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sources of that rivulet. Unable to maintain themselves in independence, they sought and found refuge, about the turn of the century, among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, fusing with them so as to lose their separate existence. According to their own statements their ancient language was wholly identical with that of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.

### *15. Extinct Tribes*

Concerning the following four tribes, now wholly extinct, there is a complete lack of linguistic or ethnographic material. Nevertheless, judging from the references to them in the literature and in contemporary Timbira tradition, the first two were almost certainly of Timbira affiliation, the two others at least probably so.

*Karēkateye.*—Their name is derived from karē (mud). Their identity with the older authors' Caracategé and Canacategé is pure conjecture on my part. According to Ribeiro, the Cannaquetgê (Canaqtegê) occupied a village on the Rio Farinha until 1814.[166] In that year they asked for peace, which was denied because, as Ribeiro remarks, slaves were needed. The bandeira of São Pedro de Alcantara with Krahõ' allies attacked them, enslaved a goodly number, selling them to Pará, and caused the dispersal of the rest. On the other hand, Pinto de Magalhães represents himself and his Krahõ' as victims of the Canacategé.[167]

Subsequently the Caracategé are associated with the banks of the Grajahú immediately above the sites occupied during the past decades by the Kre'pų'mkateye. In 1851 they, jointly with the Gaviões, are located on the Grajahú between Tapera Leopoldina and Chapada (= Grajahú).[168] In 1853 they are said to reside at Jussaral on the Mearim—an unintelligible statement since, so far as that region has been known at all, its forests have been occupied only by Guajajára.

These Caracategé are conceivably the ancestors of the present Kre'pų'mkateye, but it is also possible that they are identical with the Karēkateye of Rąmkõ'kamekra tradition. According to the latter, the tribal remnants joined them and were taken into their community. At certain ceremonies of the tamhą'k (p. 217), where the inhabitants of Ponto figure according to their tribal descent, the descendants of the Karēkateye still form a separate little group, with a site on the north-northwest side of the plaza, suggesting that their forefathers had immigrated from that direction. This would tally absolutely with the identity of the Karēkateye and the Caracategé of the Rio Grajahú. On the other hand, their equation with the Canacategé of the Rio Farinha would have put them on the west-southwest side, contrary to the observed facts.

*The Krõ'rekamekra.*—The remnants of this people were adopted by the Rąmkõ'kamekra under similar circumstances. Their leader at the time is said to have been a great singer. In the tamhą'k ceremonial the very few descendants of this tribe stand on the southwest side of the plaza, in consonance with their original habitat. Pinto de Magalhães[169] lists the Crurê-Camecran with nine (subtracting synonyms, only five) other tribes as living in the region north of São Pedro de Alcantara and bounded in the west by the Tocantins, in the east by the watershed, in the north by the tropical forest zone, 5° 10'; the tribe is said to be hostile to the Krahõ'. Pohl also places the Crurecamecrans on the east bank of the Tocantins, whereas Martius[170] and Cazal merely mention them as Crurecamecrans and Crorécamecrans.

Krõre in Timbira signifies the taitetú pig (*Dicotyles labiatus*).

[166] Ribeiro, Memoria, §§ 70, 83; Roteiro, 46.
[167] Almeida, Carolina, 52.
[168] Marques, Apontamentos, "Indios."
[169] Almeida, Carolina, 55.
[170] Martius, Beiträge, 2:264. Cazal, Chorographia, 1:293. Pohl, Reise, 2:211.

[1 i.e. the Cą'Kamedra --- Analyst.]

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619 101 *The Nyurukwayé.*—The literature records such synonyms as Norocoagê, Norogagê, Noraguagé, Noraquagê, Ununuguajé.[121] The name is derived from the Timbira word for dwelling: Apinayé nyurukwá, Eastern Timbira nyõkwa, yũkwá. However, the Eastern Timbira also use the Apinayé designation for the tribe in question, which lived on the west side of the Tocantins, south of the Apinayé, though Pohl erroneously puts them among the tribes of the east side.

619 195 Pinto de Magalhães places them among the tribes between the Tocantins and the Araguaya, from São Pedro de Alcantara to the confluence of these rivers. He reports how *more suo* he had tried to make friends with them by aiding the Krahõ′ in a raid against the Norocagês and sending back to their own people two of the three women that were made captives. This seems to have occurred in 1810 or a little later.

According to Ribeiro this tribe was enslaved and dispersed at the same time as the Canaquetgês, that is, in 1815. However, it evidently maintained its existence for some time thereafter, since Cunha Mattos reports an attack in 1824 by Inhajurupé-Chavante and Noraguagés on the Šerénte aldea Graciosa, which he had founded somewhat below the present Porto Nacional. He regarded the Noraguagés as of the same origin as the Šerénte and describes them as a tribe of insignificant size, though his figure of 200 warriors would correspond to a total of 800 to 1000 souls. They were said to reside west of the Temembó or Pepuxi (=Krahõ′ ? Šavánte ?) in the region of the Estreito, 6° 30′.

In 1844 Castelnau once more cites the tribe as one of the five Šerénte subtribes[122]—unquestionably an error, for the Šerénte constitute a single tribal unit. Since then the Nyurukwayé no longer appear in the sources. The Krahõ′ of today recognize the name, but disclaim any further knowledge.

*The Augutgé.*—Without any localization Ribeiro mentions a tribe he designates once by the above name, a second as Angetgê:

> In 1816 a bandeira lured it into its power by mendacious promises, enslaved its members, and hacked to pieces its chief when he protested against such treachery. Part of the slaves were shipped to Pará, the rest were sold to itinerant traders, who sold them off to Piauhy.

Otherwise I have no knowledge of any statements about this tribe; possibly the name is a distortion of Ahótye (= Apinayé).

619 101 *Other names.*—Various tribal names referred to the Timbira zone appear in the literature without definite localization, so that it is not worth while to discuss them in detail.[123]

Chacameeran, Xocameeran, and Jocameeran presumably refer to the Čą′kamekra. Others (such as Manacobgê, Caturecategê, Capacatagê [= Capetigi ?], Sapicran, and Tucategê) I am unable to interpret. They may or may not have been Timbira tribes, for we must recollect that the Tupí Amanayé, too, bear a tribal name ending in -ye, -gê.

[121] Saint-Adolphe, Diccionario, "Norogagês." Ribeiro, Memoria, § 83; Roteiro, 37, 46. Pohl Reise, 2:682. Cunha Mattos, Chorographia, 37:357; 38:21, 78. Almeida, Carolina, 51. Marques, Apontamentos, "Tocantins."

[122] Castelnau, Histoire, 1:352.

[123] Martius, Beiträge, 1:284. Pohl, Reise, 2:182. Almeida, Carolina, 55. Marques, Apontamentos, "Santa Thereza," "Tocantins." Casal, Chorographia, 2:293.

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421 A particular tribe, then, owns certain rivulets and creeks with their affluents and
423 the important correlated *galeria* forests; the next creek and its adjacent area, be-
619 yond the watershed, belongs to the neighboring tribe. Thus the ancient boundary
101 between the Rąmkõ'kamekra and the Apą'nyekra was formed by the watershed between the large Papagaio and Porcos creeks, two affluents of the Rio Corda. The entire district drained by the Flores, a rivulet tributary to the Mearim, belonged to the Čą'kamekra. Beyond the eastern watershed of the Flores lay the land of the Hakąpó (=Gamella of Codó). Reduced by wars and epidemics, the Čą'kamekra retreated before the Neobrazilians into the extreme southern corner of their habitat; and when that, too, proved an untenable refuge, they united with the Rąmkõ'kamekra, sharing their territory on wholly equal terms.

The northern boundary of the Apą'nyekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra consisted of the wooded area of the Mearim, to which these steppe dwellers attached no importance, so that the Guajajára were able to settle there.

The Mearim divided the Čą'kamekra and Rąmkõ'kamekra on its right bank from the Krẽyé of Bacabal on the left. Originally no Timbira tribe simultaneously occupied both banks of the Tocantins; this was subsequently done by the Krahõ', but only because of Neobrazilian pressure. Anyone may hunt, fish, gather, and make
421 a clearing at will within the tribal territory. A plot, so long as it is under cultivation,
423 belongs to the family of the woman for whom the clearing was made. Wild fruit-trees are never privately owned unless they have been deliberately spared in clearing a plot. Fellow tribesmen never quarrel over the exploitation of the tribal area. The endless land disputes among Neobrazilians, often leading to murder or manslaughter, figure as a proof of their malevolence. Snethlage reports that two prominent Rąmkõ'kamekra of mature age belonging to complementary moieties had the Indian agent in Barra do Corda smooth out difficulties over a boundary transgression.[114] I cannot conceive either how such a dispute could have arisen or how [114] the moieties could have been involved, hence I must assume some misunderstanding on this investigator's part.

422 An object belongs to its maker or winner or to the person for whom it was produced or won. For example, a wife not merely owns the utensils manufactured by herself, but also the objects—say, sleeping mats—made for her by her husband; further, the plot and house cleared and erected by the husband or his assistants. Children become owners of the toys made for them by parents and relatives as soon as the objects are handed to them. Proprietary claims of this sort are generally acknowledged to the fullest extent, the solitary exception being the encroachments of a wife's brothers on her husband's private possessions (see p. 125).

422 Except for houses and cultivated plots, private property is markedly unstable.
425 Chattels, even the most valuable of them, such as rifles, bush-knives, axes, iron
431 pots, and arara feathers frequently pass to new owners because of the fees often
437 obligatory on individuals as well as organizations. As shown elsewhere (p. 75), an exaggerated value is attached to tame wild pigs, hence the killing of these animals that regularly recurs during certain festivals involves indemnification of the families which reared them, thus accounting for circulation of considerable property. Another, though rare, occasion for the transfer of many goods is the ceremonial exchange of precentresses when peace is concluded. At the close of the pepyé the families of the new initiates give presents to the two girl associates; in 1933 the elders expressed displeasure with the meagerness of the offerings, whereupon the first commandant of the pepyé stepped up, unbuckled his unused bush-

[114] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 168.

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114 [101] It is striking that the Canella Indians, like most of the other tribes of Maranhão, have hitherto been greatly neglected by the ethnological profession.

Despite the relatively convenient accessibility of their villages and the fairly slight difficulty of becoming acquainted with their more intimate tribal life in friendly association with them, they regrettably have not yet been investigated in detail by scientific travelers. /Map appears here./

114 101 Undoubtedly a special expedition which was concerned solely with the study of the Maranhão Indians, who are regarded as known and civilized and, with the exception of the Tupí horde of the Guajajára, belong entirely to the Gẽ group (1), could count

1. For traditional reasons we shall for the time being adhere to the term introduced by Martius, "Gês," the Portuguese form of the Indian word "Gẽ" (pronounced "g" like the French "j") So far as is known up to now, the word "Gẽ" is not in the vocabulary of any tribe of the group of peoples so named. According to R. Schuller's investigations, "gẽ" is supposed to be a pure Aruak /Arawak/ or Carib-Aruak word to correspond to the "hẽ" as in, say, the tribal name of the Curua-hẽ, visited in 1909 by Dr. Snethlage, or of the Karajá /Caraja/ horde of the Java-hẽ, who are called "Šavaje" according to Fritz Krause's notes, "Javaje" according to mine ("j" as in French). Instead of "Gês," it would probably be better to choose the group designation likewise proposed by Martius and given by the native word "Crans" (in Indian pronunciation: krã).

on valuable ethnological gains. It seems to be a common feature

It seems to be a common feature

/45 cont./

177 of all Gẽ tribes that they generally assume a bluntly negative attitude toward the civilizing efforts of the Portuguese population and, however much inclined they are to accept the amenities offered to them by the Whites with respect to material things, nevertheless in other respects they continue to live in strictly conservative fashion with the traditional tribal usages and customs.

797 In this matter even a century long catechism has not been able to change anything essential.

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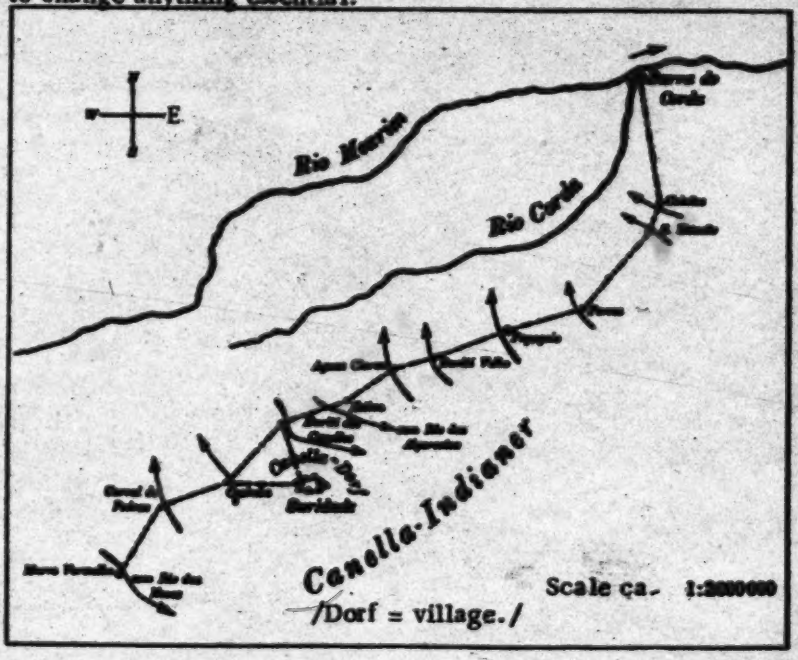


797 According to concurring mission reports, there seems to have
177 been no success at all /46/ in achieving any lasting influencing and
171 education of a Gẽ tribe in the sense of European culture.

For example, the French Dominicans on the Araguaia, according to their own statements, have been unable to exert any permanent educative influence even of only nominal value on the Kayapó /Cayapo/ during a period of almost 15 years of devoted missionary activity.

/46 cont./

114 Père Etienne Ignace (4), too, for lack of better and more

[113] 4. Père Etienne Ignace, "Les Capiekrans /The Capiecran/," 1910; in Anthropos, Vol V, pp. 477 ff.

modern sources, was forced to depend on the testimony of this Brazilian traveler for many things in his work "Les Capiekrans" (a Canella subhorde), since from personal observation he knew the Canella very little or not at all.

101 What do we really mean by Canella Indians?

[131] In the wider sense they probably corresponded in their full extent to the dense population of related Indians of the Gẽ people that was designated by Ribeiro as Timbirá, who at the time of the occupation of Maranhão by the Europeans were in uncontested possession of the country and probably a part of the coast.

101 Whereas the hordes living in the north, which it was sought
619 in vain to establish in villages in S. João de Penalva in the vicinity
301 of Viana on the lower course of the Pindaré River, near Codó and
[171] Caxias on the Itapecuru River, wore as a characteristic feature
[304] enormous lip disks carved out of the soft wood of the gamelleira /Moraceae/, for which reason they were then generally called Gamellas, the related nomadic tribes living to the south of them in the center of the state were /47/ distinguished by the no less huge wooden disks fastened as adornment in the slit ear-lobes.

101 Ribeiro calls the latter tribes, together with the inhabitants of the interior, "Canellas finas" (=Indians with thin shinbones), among whom a distinction was again made between Korumekran and Kapiekran.

101 According to the account of Etienne Ignace, the Canella
361 Kapiekrans are supposed to be divided between two centers, Grajaú
[114] and Barra do Corda, and to have four villages. At no time in
[131] Barra do Corda did I hear either the name "Capiekrans" or "Corumekrans" /illustration appears here/ as tribal designations and only ascertained this much, that the "Canella" were settled in a half-civilized state in four actually existing villages between

/47 cont./

Papagayo and Morro Vermelho, about 100-180 kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda.

During my journey to the Tocantins-Araguaia, which in the late summer of 1908 took me through central Maranhão in the vicinity of their area, I utilized the opportunity to make a fleeting visit to the Canella village of Suridade (1), which is located about

1. Modified form of the Portuguese word "soledade" = solitude.

32 leguas (2) from Barra do Corda, between

2. About 180 kilometers.

the moradas (3) Buritĭ dos Cavallos and

3. By "morada" is meant a settlement of one or usually several farms.

Casimba, half a day's journey away from the caravan route.

A short account of my stay with the

Canella Indian with neck cord, hip band of palm-leaf strips, wrist band of bast, and huge ear-disks (kui).

inhabitants of Suridade may be given space here.

A good hour's journey behind Buritĭ dos Cavallos a scarcely noticeable, narrow Indian path branches off from the main road into the forest in a southerly direction. I took it around noon on the twelfth of October, accompanied only by one servant, after having sent my troop on ahead to Casimba.

/47 cont./

302 765 The Herculean-built brother-in-law of the village chief is among them. His head is /48/ shaved. According to tribal custom he had taken his head hair as an offering to the grave of his recently deceased wife (1).

[171] [101] 1. I observed the same custom among the Mẽkubengôkrä Kayapo, to the west of the sierra of Conceição do Araguaia, in whose villages I stayed in 1909.

123 [203] The news of my imminent arrival had already been announced in the village. So it came about that I, with my companion, rode into Suridade accompanied by a stately procession. [361] In the village, which is built circularly -- i e., all the huts lie [622] in a circle, the radius of which is about 100 meters -- I was taken [342] immediately to the hut of the chief, Manoel José de Santo Vaqueiro, which is not distinguished from the other nine huts by any externally visible feature.

123 622 576 [648] The chief had received the rank of major from the government and obviously put /illustration appears here/ great value on the form of address due him. My first query as to whether the "chefe da aldeia" /head of the village/ were present in the house seemed not to correspond to the customary local ritual. The alteration of my question to "Aqui está a casa do 'major' Vaqueiro /Is this the house of Major Vaqueiro/?" had, however, the immediate result of a reply, "estou prompto" /this is it/, uttered rapidly several times.

And at once the ruler of the village emerged from under the low entrance, in front of which lay a large log of wood.

622 292 And how he looked! He had clad himself in his most elegant finery.

A black dinner-jacket hung loosely against white trousers on his thin figure.

On his head sat a colored double-peaked soldier's cap, which, as he recounted with a pompous air, had been bestowed upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank --